FOUR VṚTTIS IN PĀṆINI

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Preface

Pāṇini is tested not only by time but also by machines (computers) for its perfection coupled with brevity. Although it is accepted by one and all that language undergoes change naturally, a standard form is very much needed for a perfect and flawless transaction of various activities and in the present day electronic revolution, it is required for computer applications, especially for machine translation. In order to compile a Vyākaraṇa one requires a standard form of Śabda, its meaning and the relation between them. A Vyākaraṇa prepared with standard material for a standard language would last forever. It was with such an ideology in mind that the intelligentsia of Indian subcontinent had long ago devised the science of language. Dharma, according to them, is concomitant of language and use and abuse are the subject matter of Vyākaraṇa.

With the training I received in both oriental and occidental methods and with my knowledge of Veda, Vedāṅgas and Darśanas I tried my best to explicate the concept of Vṛtti and the terse Sūtras of Pāṇini involved in it. It is obvious that systematic study of Pāṇini and the chain of commentaries thereupon have been receiving scant attention of students of today, more so in the medium of Sanskrit. Therefore, I endeavoured to dwell upon the cryptic Sūtras, Vārtikas and Mahābhāṣya taking clues from Bhartṛhari, Jinendrabuddhi, Kaiyaṭa, Dīkṣita and Nāgeśa. Hope the book will serve the needs of both the scholars - who are not familiar with Śāstric style and who, for some reason or the other, could not reach such a wide range of commentaries.

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INTRODUCTION

Patañjali, while commenting on the Pāṇinisūtra, samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ (2-1-1) , discusses the concept of Vṛtii at length. Pāṇini himself did not use the cryptic term vṛtii . Rather, in order to register the arguments and discussions of other grammarians, who were either predecessors and / or contemporaries to Pāṇini, Patañjali mooted the question of Vṛtti. On the other hand, whichever aspect was dealt with under the heading Vṛtti, was covered under samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ . In other words, padavidhi and Vṛtti are synonyms.

Almost half of Aṣṭādhyāyi (i.e. 1724 sūtras) deals with the so called Padavidhis, i.e. kṛt (484 sūtras), taddhita (1114), samāsa (109, ekaśeṣa included) and sanādyantadhātu (27).

Following Mahābhāṣya, Hari (Bhartṛhari) elaborated the concept of Vṛtti in 624 verses in Vṛttisamuddeśa in Padakāṇḍa of Vākyapadīyam. The later grammarians like Haradatta, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, Nāgeśa etc. preferred the term Vṛtti to Padavidhi while refering to the above said padavidhis.

Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita in Kaumudi enumerated vṛttis as five, viz. kṛttaddhitasamāsaikaśeṣasanādyantadhātu whereas Nāgeśa in Mañjūṣa asserts that Vṛtti is of four types (tatra vṛttiścaturdhā). Since ekaśeṣa is seen in the place of dvandva it is not separately counted by the latter. In fact, kṛt etc. are candidates having Vṛtti and therefore fit to be called vṛttimat. Rather, they are referred to as Vṛtti following abhedopacāra (treatment of non-difference). Technically it is called gauṇa (secondary), Nāgeśa clarified this in Uddyota under samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ.

Definition of Vṛtti: Parārthābhidhānam vṛttiḥ is the definition quoted by Patañjali. Expression of the meaning by the important (pradhāna) word (as in the case of Bahuvrīhi) - supported by the meaning of the unimportant (upasarjana) word (where it is applicable - like rājapuruṣa). In case of Dvandva, both the words are important and the meaning of the group of words (samudāyārtha) has to be taken as parārtha. This applies to other vṛttis, i.e. kṛt, taddhita and sanādi, where the meaning of the group of prakṛti and pratyaya is parārtha. In other words, the words having different meanings in a sentence (eg. rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ) would unite to form as a Samāsa (rājapuruṣa) with viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva (rājasambandhī puruṣaḥ) - i.e. the words involved in a Vākya would get a different form (para), and it is called Vṛtti.

Types of Vṛttis: Jahatsvārtha and Ajahatsvārtha are the two types proposed by the school of Vṛtti. In which the words give up their meaning (jahati padāni svārtham yasyām sā or jahati svāni padāni yamiti jahatsvaḥ, jahatsvaḥ arthaḥ yasyāḥ sā jahatsvārthā). According to this, the word rāja in rājapuruṣa gives up its meaning and qualifies the meaning of puruṣa (Patañjali explains that this is like a carpenter, while serving the king, gives up his own work). In Jahatsvārtha, however, the word does not completely give up its meaning. Ajahatsvārtha is where the words won't give up their meaning, i.e. while not giving up its meaning, śabda combines with another śabda (as a qualifier), and a unified meaning is thus expressed. In the example rājapuruṣa, the śabda - rāja does not give up the viśeṣyata within, but at the same time attains viśeṣaṇata (proved / indicated thru puruṣaniṣṭhaviśeṣyatā) also and a unified meaning is expressed. Patañjali compares attaining additional meaning by a śabda with the conduct of a beggar who goes on collecting more alms without giving up the earlier ones.

Difference between Pāṇini and followers of Vṛtti: In the galaxy of Vaiyākaraṇas, some are naityaśabdikās and some are kāryaśabdikās. According to the former, śabdas are nitya - i.e. naturally both, Samāsa and Vākya are there - rājapuruṣaḥ and rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ. Both ultimately mean the same. Rather it is the (artificial) device of Vaiyākaraṇas to exhibit that the Vākya, rajñaḥ puruṣaḥ is replaced by the Samāsa, rājapuruṣaḥ following the prakriya (the prakriya may differ from grammarian to grammarian but the end - result should be the same). The Śāstra (offering some prakriya or the other to achieve the intended form) is simply an instrument to acquire firsthand knowledge of already existing linguistic paradigms (prayuktānāmidamanvākhyānam - Patañjali).

On the other hand, the latter think that Śāstra would be instrumental in creating sāmarthya (ekārthībhāva) or Vṛtti,i.e. Vṛtti is not natural, and therefore Śabdas are kārya (to be produced by Śāstra). Atha ye vṛttim vartayanti kim ta āhuḥ - Patañjali's sentence means it.

Pāṇini is nityaśabdavādin and the followers of the concept of Vṛtti are kāryaśabdavādis.

In fact, since naturally both a Vākya and Samāsa exist (to express the same meaning) the former need not say Vibhāṣā (2-1-11), etc. which implies that the Samāsa is optional, but for the above said reason. Patañjali calls them as Vṛttipakṣa and Avṛttipakṣa. Where there is bādhyabādhakabhāva there only the term vibhāṣā is needed.

Samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ (2-1-1): *Any vidhi that is meant to make a pada has to be known as having resort to sāmarthya - says Dīkṣita (sāmarthya is capacity/ability to express the intended meaning). Under 3-1-2 Patañjali clarifies that if there is padagandha it will be padavidhi.*

Initially, Patañjali discusses as to whether this is an Adhikāra or Paribhāṣā and what the term samarthaḥ means, i.e. Ekārthībhāva or Vyapekṣā.

An Adhikāra would have limited jurisdiction whereas a Paribhāṣā (paritaḥ vyāpṛtā bhāṣā - a norm/rule that can stretch its tentacles allover the Śāstra) can be applied anywhere in the Śāstra. Bhāṣyakāra compares Paribhāṣā with a well-lit lamp put at a place (in the house) but illuminates the entire house. Rather, elsewhere (ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā, 1-1-48) he himself says that Adhikāra is of three types and Paribhāṣā is one of them. The above Sūtra is a Paribhāṣā is the conclusion.

So far as the sāmarthya is concerned, it is of two types - Ekārthībhāva and Vyapekṣā- when two words (or prakṛti and pratyaya) express a single unitery meaning it is called Ekārthībhāva (eg. rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ - rājapuruṣaḥ). Vyapekṣā (4) means mutual expectancy coupled with (viśiṣṭā apekṣā), i.e. ākāṅkṣā coupled with yogyatā and āsatti (rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ - is a Vākya where there is Vyapekṣā).

Ekārthībhāva and Paribhāṣā: *After discussing the pros and cons in case of different pairs like Ekārthībhāva and Adhikara, Vyapekṣā and Adhikāra etc. Patañjali (5)concludes that the term samarthaḥ means Ekārthībhāva and the Sūtra is a Paribhāṣā. The words sāmarthye in isusoḥ sāmarthye (8-3-44)' and yukte in nacavāhāhaivayukte (8-1-24) are signs set by Pāṇini in order to suggest that here samarthaḥ means Ekārthībhāva. Eikapadyam (single word) eikasvaryam (single svara) and ekavibhaktitvam (having a single vibhakti) are the signs of Ekārthībhāva.*

Vyapekṣa: *Patañjali (6) registers the contention of some others (especially Naiyāyikas) that Vyapekṣā is the sāmarthya even in Vṛttis. In fact, Ekārthībhāva has got Vyapekṣā as the criterion. Rather, it is their contention that Vyapekṣā only (7) is the sāmarthya and not Ekārthībhāva at all, i.e. the term samarthaḥ in the present Sūtra means Vyapekṣā only. And the expectancy is between Arthas rather than Śabdas - rāja feels (expects) that puruṣa belongs to him and the latter feels that he belongs to rāja. The relation between them is expressed by ṣaṣṭhī.*

Similarly, the kriyākāraka - abhisambandha between kaṣṭam and śritaḥ is expressed by Dvitīyā.

In case of Ekārthībhāva, samarthaḥ means samgatārthaḥ or samsṛṣṭārthaḥ - ekībhūtam (becoming a single entity) is the meaning. If it is Vyapekṣā, samprekṣitārtha or sambaddhārtha - vyatiṣaṅga (fastening with each other) is the meaning.

Further Patañjali discusses at length the problems to be faced and the amendments to be made (like a separate definition of a sentence useful only in application of certain grammatical rules), by quoting Kātyāyana.

Bheda and Samsarga: *Sāmarthyam is the combination of two features - bheda and samsarga. In the sentence rājapuruṣam ānaya (bring the king's servant) - rāja separates puruṣa from other kings and puruṣa also separates rāja from other puruṣas. Subsequently, even in jahatsvārtha, a free puruṣa cannot be brought rather the one related to rāja. In fact, Patañjali mooted this question in the context of supporting jahatsvārtha in terms of Vṛtti. This is needed even for naityaśabdikas as both these features are criteria of Ekārthībhāva. Nāgeśa compares the interpretation in terms of Vṛtti with the akhaṇḍārthabodha in tattvamasi etc Mahāvākyas in Vedānta. And he also claims that the same is ekārthībhāva. The above analysis is applicable in Dvandva and Bahuvrīhi too.*

Samāsa and Vākya: *The difference between Vākya and Samāsa is vividly exhibited by Patañjali -*

*1. **Meaning:** Words in a Vākya express their meaning separately - rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ, whereas a unitery meaning is expressed by a Samāsa-rājapuruṣaḥ. Rather both of them express the same meaning.*

*2. **Sublopa:** The vibhaktis of the words in a Vākya won't get lopa whereas in a Samāsa they get lopa - rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ - rājapuruṣaḥ.*

*3. **Vyavadhānam:** Words involved in a Vākya can be employed with gap - i.e. there can be other words in between (since there is no word order in Sanskrit) whereas in Samāsa the words involved should not have any gap - rājñaḥ ṛddhasya puruṣaḥ - rājapuruṣaḥ.*

*4. **Abhisambandha:** Words involved can / will have mutual connection whatever may be the order (free word order) whereas the order of words in a Samāsa is specific - rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ or puruṣo rājñaḥ-rājapuruṣaḥ.*

*5. **Svara:** There will be two svaras in a Vākya and only one in the case of Samāsa - rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ - both the words have got ādyudātta due to nitsvara, i.e. rājan is kaninpratyayānta and puruṣa is kuṣan-pratyayānta. Rājapuruṣaḥ - the Samāsa is antodātta.*

*6. **Samkhyāviśeṣa:** In a Vākya the Samkhyā is clearly expressed - rājñaḥ / rājñoḥ / rājñām puruṣaḥ (the servent of one / two / many kings) whereas in a Samāsa no specific Samkhyā is expressed - rājapuruṣaḥ.*

***Abhedaikatvasamkhyā:** This term, has been used for the first time by Hari (8), while explaining the contention of some scholars (Helārāja). He widely discussed the pros and cons in case the concept is accepted. While Patañjali maintains silence in this matter, Kaiyaṭa, Haradatta, Dīkṣita, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa etc. felt that abhedaikatva is the sign of ekatva etc. Nāgeśa (9), on the other hand, vehemently refutes the contention of others (quoting Mahābhāṣya) and asserts that the term means no samkhyā is expressed , be it ekatva or dvitva. And the concept is not workable in Samāsas like - stokānmuktaḥ and māsajātaḥ, where the Samkhyā (here ekatva) is expressed. Rather, the propegators of the concept explained (10) (says Hari) that it is how different rasās with different capacities are there in honey, all the Samkhyas are there in abhedaikatva.*

*7. **Abhidhānam:** The idea is clearly expressed by a Vākya- brāhmaṇasya kambalastiṣṭhati. In a Samāsa the idea is rather unclear - brāhmaṇakambalastiṣṭhati - it is doubtful as to whether it is sambuddhi or ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa. Patañjali says that sometimes reverse is the case - ardham paśoḥ devedattasya - here in this sentence whether ardha is connected with paśu or devadatta. In a Samāsa ardhapaśurdevadattasya.*

*8. **Upasarjanaviśeṣaṇam:** The upasarjanapada in a Vākya can have a viśeṣaṇa (qualifier) whereas in a Samāsa this is not possible - ṛddhasya rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ - rājapuruṣaḥ. Patañjali offers a counter example (for upasarjanaviśeṣaṇa in Samāsa) - devadattasya gurukulam (this aspect will be discussed later).*

*9. **Cayoga:** It is of two types - svacayoga and svāmicayoga. Both will be there in a Vākya but not in a Samāsa. Svacayoga - rājñaḥ gauśca aśvaśca puruṣaśca is a Vākya. Rājñaḥ gavāśvapuruṣāḥ. Svāmicayoga - devadattasya ca yajñadattasya ca viṣṇumitrasya ca gauḥ - is a Vākya. Devadattayajñadattaviṣṇumitrāṇām gauḥ - is a Samāsa.*

Incidentally Patañjali (11) clarifies that Vyākaraṇaśāstra does not prescribe meaning (Artha) rather it is concerned only about the form of Śabda. And in cases like anekamanyapadārthe, cārthe dvandvaḥ, apatye, rakte etc. the interpretation should be as follows - the Śabdas which are already there in such and such an artha would get the name Bahuvrīhi, Dvandva etc. That s why it is called Śabdānuśāsanam (not Arthānuśāsanam). Nirukta and Kośas deal with meaning.

***Sāpekṣa and Asāmarthya:** There are certain Samāsas which elude sāmarthya. Kātyāyana (13) and Patañjali (14) addressed this problem under samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ. Earlier it was discussed that a word involved in a Samāsa cannot have a qualifier (viśeṣaṇa) and a word having a viśeṣaṇa cannot become a part of Samāsa by uniting with another word. As a result in a situation like - ṛddhasya rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ one cannot make a Samāsa with rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ nor can one add any viśeṣaṇa like ṛddhasya to the word rāja involved in a Samāsa like rājapuruṣaḥ. Why is it so? Following Kātyāyana, Patañjali says that since the word rāja has got the expectancy with ṛddhasya , it has become sāpekṣa and hence it cannot become part and parcel of a Samāsa. Kaiyaṭa explains the problem - the word rāja in the Samāsa is upasarjana / apradhāna (non-important) and as such becomes viśeṣaṇa and expresses the meaning of the other*

(important) word, i.e. puruṣa. In case such a rāja -pada has got a viśeṣaṇa (qualifier) like ṛddhasya, it has to become pradhāna (important). Since a single word simultaneously cannot have both the properties, viz. prādhānya and Ekārthībhāva the ruling - sāpekṣamasamartham bhavati is legitimate and has to be taken as a Nyāya (norm).

Sāpekṣasamāsa: *There are usages like devadattasya gurukulam . Here the word devadattasya is a qualifier of guru , a word that is already involved in Samāsa. Elsewhere also, i.e. isusoḥ sāmarthye (8-3-44) (words ending in is and us will get ṣatva if there is sāmarthya) - brāhmaṇasya sarpiṣkaroti etc. the word sarpiḥ has got ṣatva since there is sāmarthya, inspite of the fact that it is sāpekṣa with brāhmaṇasya . So, as was mentioned by Hari (14), a sambandhiśabda, even if sāpekṣa would get united with another śabda to become a Samāsa. The Vārtika by Kātyāyana, i.e. aguruputrādīnām, is said in this context only. Patañjali's ruling that the Vārtikas need not be said means that the amendments are nyāyasiddha (are known thru commonsense). On top of everything Patañjali (15) rules that gamakatva (transformation of meaning without a hitch) is the criterion in accepting Vṛtti (even if there is sāpekṣatva).*

Asamarthasamāsa: *Pāṇini and Patañjali have accepted samāsas where there is no sāmarthyam but there is gamakatva. Asūryampaśyāni (mukhāni) is an example. Here the nañ (a) has got its connection with paśya and not with sūrya as the intended meaning is - the faces which do not see even the Sun . Asūryalalāṭayoḥ dṛśitapoḥ (3-2-36) is the Pāṇinisūtra which institutes khaś-pratyaya in this example. Suḍanapumsakasya (1-1-46) is another Sūtra where Pāṇini himself used an asamarthasamāsa - anapumsakasya (napumsakasya suṭ na bhavati) - where the nañ (a) does not have connection with napumsakasya - is used. It is against this background that Patañjali asserts that gamakatva, rather than sāmarthya, in certain cases, is the criterion in effecting Vṛtti.*

SAMĀSAVṚTTIḤ

Pāṇini took up Samāsavṛtti initially. Samāsa literally means samudāya / group (of words). Most of the Samāsas are covered under four headings - Avyayībhāva, Tatpuruṣa, Dvandva and Bahuvrīhi. Any Samāsa that is not covered by the Sūtras under these four headings has to be processed by supsupā . This is stated by Patañjali (1) under saha supā (2-1-4). Sup is brought as anuvṛtti from subāmantrite parṅgavatsvare (2-1-2) and combined with supā in saha supā . Punarutsyūtam, punarniṣkṛtaḥ, pūrvam bhūtaḥ bhūtapūrvaḥ are examples. Samāsas are of two types - nityasamāsa and anityasamāsa. Following vibhāṣā (orMahavibhāṣādhikāra), which is gotten thru carving out the Sūtra (2) - vibhāṣāpaparibahirañcavaḥpañcamyā (2-1-11), all the samāsas that follow this Sūtra are optional. And it is implied that the Samāsas preceding the above Sūtra are nitya, supsupā is not a nityasamāsa.

What is Optional: *The term samarthaḥ (in 2-1-1) means Ekārthībhāvasāmarthyam. Vibhāṣā is a qualifier (3) of samarthaḥ. Therefore, the Ekārthībhāva that is being superimposed in regard to Padavidhi (Vṛtti) is optional. So much so that in case there is Ekārthībhāva the Samāsa (Vṛtti) will take place and in its absence there will be Vākya (with Vyapekṣa) - rājapuruṣaḥ-rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ. Vibhāṣā should not be taken as a qualifier of Samāsasamjñā as the same would be a mere waste.*

Nāgeśa suggests (2-1-17) that initially the sāmarthya (coupled with optionality) has to be imposed and students are to be taught in the following manner for easy understanding subantam śritādibhiḥ sahoccāryamāṇam vā samartham bhavati, samartham ca samāsasamjñam bhavati (a noun pronounced alongwith śrita etc. would become optionally capable, and the same would have the name Samāsa). Even in niṣedhasūtras sāmarthya will be optional (Nageśa in this regard differs with Bhaṭṭojī who says samasyate , rather, Patañjali, under 2-1-6 (avyayam...) says - eteṣvartheṣu yadavyayam vartate, tatsubantena saha samasyate iti.

Common principles: The vigrahavākya (like rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ) is a statement which explains the Samāsa. It is similar to Vākya (rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ). Vigraha (vibhinnatvena grahaḥ jñānam - the meaning of the words involved in a Samāsa is shown separately by this) is not fit for usage whereas a Vākya is fit for usage. Rājan ṅas puruṣa su - is called alaukikavigrahavākya, exclusively useful for prakriyā. Both Vṛtti and Vākya (also called vyasta) should express the same meaning (4) (vṛttivākyayoḥ samānārthakatvaniyamaḥ).

The following steps in the given sequence are to be taught to pupils - and inject samudāyaśakti (supsupā etc.) -

rājñaḥ puruṣah - *give an exploded view (alaukikavigraha) rājan ṅas puruṣa su*

inject Ekārthībhāva (samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ) give samāsasamjña and viśeṣasamjñas (prākkaḍārātsamāsaḥ, Avyayībhāvaḥ, Tatpuruṣaḥ etc.)

apply Prātipadikatva to the group (kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca)

lopa of suppratyayas (and nalopa) (supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ)

pūrvanipāta to upasarjana (prathamānirdiṣṭam samāsa upasarjanam and upasarjanam pūrvam)

making the Samāsa a subanta by adding Sups (svaujasamaut...)

rājapuruṣaḥ - Samāsānta, aluk, svara, etc. may follow.

Tiṅantasamāsa: Samāsa, according to Pāṇini, is not confined to Subantas (nouns) only - ākhyātamākhyātena kriyāsātatye (gaṇasūtram 20 , quoted under mayūravyamsakādayaśca 2-1-72 in Kaumudī) - a tiṅanta (verb) will get united with another verb to form into a Samāsa if continuity of a kriyā (activity) is there- cook and fry - if this is mentioned time and again then the kriyā is called pacatabhṛjjatā (in feminine gender - ṭāp). Similarly khādatamodatā (eat and enjoy).

Nityasamāsa: Rājapuruṣaḥ - is a vaikalpikasamāsa, since it has got a vigrahavākya (made of its own words). Gireḥ samīpam (near the hill) is the explanation offered for the nityasamāsa upagiram, i.e. it does not have a vigraha (like a vaikalpikasamāsa). Nyāyaḥ, Vyākaraṇam, sūpaprati, adhihari, kumbhakāraḥ etc. are popular as nityasamāsas. Alaukikavigraha is as follows: giri + ṅas, upa; kumbha + ṅas , kāra.

Pāṇini said 56 sūtras before vibhāṣādhikāra (2-1-11) and the Samāsas produced by these Sūtras are nityasamāsas. Supsupā - is not a nityasamāsa (Patañjali offered - vispaṣṭam paṭuḥ vispaṣṭapaṭuḥ -as example) although it precedes vibhāṣā.

Following Kaiyaṭa (iko'savarṇe śākalyasya hrasvaśca 6-1-127) it seems, Bhaṭṭojī ruled in Kaumudī that a Samāsa either having no vigraha at all or having a vigraha not made of its own words is a nityasamāsa. While the first one can be taken as a definition the second one can be a sign to identify a nityasamāsa. Under caturthī tadarthārthabalihitasukharakṣitaiḥ (2-1-35) and aṣaḍakṣa... (5-4-7) Patañjali says - bhavati vai kaścidasvapadavigraho bahuvrīhiḥ, tadyathā śobhanam mukham asyāḥ sumukhīti. It is difficult to support Kaiyaṭa's (under 6-1-127) statement that nityasamāsa is that which is under nityādhikāra for obvious reasons. Patañjali s statements in support of avigraha are there under 2-1-36, 2-2-19, 5-1-64 and 5-4-7.

Samjñāyām nityasamāsaḥ: A sentence cannot be considered as a name. Therefore, in spite of vibhāṣā, the Samāsa like unmattagaṅgam, lohitagaṅgam (anyapadārthe ca samjñāyām 2-1-21), which are names of countries, are nityasamāsas.

Types of Samāsas: There are four major samāsas analyzed by Pāṇini:

1. Avyayībhāva: The common rule for Avyayībhāva offered by grammarians earlier to Pāṇini was -pūrvapadārthapradhānaḥ

(wherein meaning of the first word would be important). Since this phenomenon is observed in many examples, this definition became popular. In examples like sūpaprati (less sūpa - boiled gram), and unmattagaṅgam (name of a country) where uttarapadārtha (the meaning of the latter word) and anyapadārtha (the meaning of another word) are important respectively.

There are two Sūtras read - avyayībhāvaśca (1-1-41 & 2-4-18). The former says that all Avyayībhāvasamāsas are Avyayas (having a single form which does not undergo any vyaya - change due to liṅga, vacana and vibhakti - also called indeclinable). The latter says that Avyayībhāvasamāsa is napumsaka (neuter gender) - the term napumsakam from sa napumsakam (2-4-17) is brought down to this Sūtra - called Anuvṛtti. The benefit is hrasva thru hrasvo napumsake prātipadikasya (1-2-47) - gopāyati (one who protects) or gāḥ pāti (one who protects the cows) - gopāḥ - tasmin (in gopa) iti adhigopam. Here the ā in gopāḥ became hrasva due to napumsakatva thru the above Sūtra.

Pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā (2-1-18): While there exists the Mahāvibhāṣādhikāra, Pāṇini again adds vā (optionally) here. Mahāvibhāṣā says that Ekārthībhāva is optional. The result is that there will be Samāsa and Vākya - pāregaṅgāt, madhyegaṅgāt gaṅgāyāḥ pārāt, gaṅgāyāḥ madhyāt. The vā in the above Sūtra says that there will be ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa as well - gaṅgāpārāt, gaṅgāmadhyāt.

Samāsāntāḥ (5-4-68): The Avyayībhāvasamjñā gets Samāsāntapratyayas as well - ṭac - upaśaradam, pratyakṣam etc.

2. Tatpuruṣa: Earlier grammarians defined Tatpuruṣa as uttarapadārthapradhāna. Since the meaning of the latter word is important in most of the examples the same became popular.

***Dvigu:** In order to get Samāsāntas (ṭac and ac only), Pāṇini (dviguśca 2-1-23) extended Tatpuruṣasamjña to Dvigusamāsa also. In strītva ṅīp (dvigoḥ 4-1-21) and in samāhāra (group) napumsakatva (dvigurekavacanam 2-4-1, sa napumsakam 2-4-17) are other benefits - trilokī, pañcarājam etc.*

Karmadhāraya: When both the words express the same thing (samānam ekam adhikaraṇam vācyam yayoḥ padayoḥ) the Tatpuruṣa is called Karmadhāraya. In examples like mahānavamī, pumvattva (pumvatkarmadhārayajātīyadeśīyeṣu 6-3-42) and the subsequent āttva (ānmahataḥ samānādhikaraṇajātīyayoḥ 6-3-46) are the benefits.

Nityasamāsa: Single words only are used to curse and to express a name. In such cases there will be a Samāsa only (no Vākya), i.e. Ekārthībhāva is nitya and there won't be the Vākya. A king who does not protect the subjects is cursed by the word kimrājā (kim kṣepe 2-1-64). Uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā is the name of a game and the Samāsa dantalekhakaḥ suggests livelyhood. Both are nityasamāsas - nityam krīḍājīvikayoḥ (2-2-17). The term nityam goes as anuvṛtti into a number of Sūtras (kugatiprādayaḥ 2-2-18 etc.) and all the samaāsas proposed by these sūtras are nityasamāsas. Hari (5) on the other hand, proposes that on a par with nityam kauṭilye gatau (3-1-23) the term nityam in the above Sūtra also is not required, i.e. the meaning of Vṛtti and Vākya is not the same and as such there is no place for Mahāvibhāṣā.

Bahulam: This term has got four-fold benefit. In the Sūtra viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa bahulam (2-1-57) Pāṇini used this term. Due to Mahāvibhāṣā, nīlamutpalam and nīlotpalam - both a Vākya and Samāsa will be there. Then what is the purpose of bahulam ?

In examples like kṛṣṇasarpaḥ there will be nityasamāsa and some times viṣeṣaṇa and viṣeṣya won't become a Samāsa at all - rāmaḥ jāmadagnyaḥ. Therefore in order to analyse such examples Pāṇini added the term bahulam .

Patañjali, under 2-1-1 clarifies that any controversy (which is often seen) regarding Tatpuruṣa and Bahuvrīhi should be solved thru bahulam in 2-1-57. Hari (6) explains this aspect in Vākyapadīyam - susūkṣmajaṭakeśaḥ is a Bahuvrīhi consisting the three words - susūkṣmāḥ jaṭāḥ keśāḥ yasya saḥ (one who has got small-clustered-hair). Anekam anyapadārthe (2-2-24) is the Sūtra. There will be pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara thru bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam

(6-2-1). On the other hand, in order to effect the Ekārthībhāva if one applies supsupā (2-1-4) - a sāmānyasamāsa or viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa bahulam (2-1-57) - a karmadhārayasamāsa, then the Pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara (or bahuvrīhisvara) will be replaced by Antodāttasvara (samāsasya 6-1-223) for that part - susūkṣmajaṭa. This tendency has to be arrested and the term bahulam is installed for this purpose. Antodātta is antaraṅga since it applies quickly and easily whereas Bahuvrīhisvara is bahiraṅga since it applies with difficult and slowly. The paribhāṣā - asiddham bahiraṅgamantaraṅge says that antaraṅga would prevail. In order to avoid this situation and to effect Bahuvrihi at a time to all the three words the term bahulam is required.

Avāntaratatpuruṣa: While discussing sāmarthya Patañjali (7) rakes up the question of Samāsa for three words - mahat kaṣṭam śritaḥ - why Samāsa does not take place inspite of the fact that there is sāmarthya following samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ 2-1-1 ?

The question is whether there will be two samāsas, each between two words or one Samāsa at a time among the three words - first kaṣṭam śritaḥ - kaṣṭaśritaḥ (dvitīyā śritātītapatitagatātyastaprāptāpannaiḥ 2-1-24) then mahat kaṣṭaśritaḥ (mahat is a separate word) will be the Samāsa, i.e. āttva will not be there by ānmahataḥ samānādhikaraṇajātīyayoḥ (6-3-46) which applies when mahat is followed by an uttarapada (in samāsas it means the last word) which is also the viśeṣya. Here in the present example śrita is the uttarapada and not kaṣṭa .

When the Samāsa has to be effected to all the three words at a time, then also, due to the said reason the āttva does not come (i.e. mahat is followed by madhyamapada and not uttarapada).

On the other hand, mahat kaṣṭam mahākaṣṭam (sanmahat paramottamotkṛṣṭāḥ pūjyamānaiḥ 2-1-61), mahākaṣṭam śritaḥ mahākaṣṭaśritaḥ (dvitīyā śritātīta 2-1-24) is a way out, i.e. Ekārthibhāva is there in the total group (although it is absent between mahat and kaṣṭam).

So far as the svara (8) is concerned there will not be any change in the case of mahākaṣṭaśrita , i.e. initially (mahākaṣṭam śritaḥ) antodāttasvara will be there by samāsasya (6-1-223) but it is checked by thāthaghañktājabitrakāṇām (6-2-144). The latter is checked by ahīne dvitīyā (6-2-47) which reinstates the antodāttasvara. Therefore in either case the same svara prevails.

Rather in cases like mahāraṇyātīta , there will be difference in svara if Samāsa is effected at a time to all the three words - when the Samāsa is effected between mahat and araṇya then the part-Samāsa would get antodātta thru samāsasya (6-1-223). The same would apply to the entire Samāsa - as thāthaghañktājabitrakāṇām (6-2-144) is bahiraṅga (it applied as atīta , a ktānta is there) it cannot check the former which is an antaraṅga (asiddham bahiraṅgamantaraṅge). Ahīne dvitīyā (6-2-47) has no place because it applies in the sense of ahīna (has not left) and atīta means crossed (left). Hari (9), in such a situation clarifies that samāsasya (6-1-223) is sāmānya whereas thāthaghañ... (6-2-144) is viśeṣa (satiśiṣṭabalīyastvāt) and as such there will be thāthādisvara, which prevails. The purport is that if it is tripadasamāsa there will be madhyodātta and if it will be dvipadasamāsa then there will be an antodātta and in order to avoid this situation dvipadatatpuruṣa has to be effected. Conclusion: supsupā (2-1-4) is pivotal. Patañjali indirectly refutes others siddhānta that a Samāsa can be simultaneously effected on three words (i.e. tripadasamāsa is acceptable) and since there will be problem in svara whatever may be the number of words in a Tatpuruṣa, each time a dvipadasamāsa has to be effected. So on the lines of pañcagavadhanaḥ (pañca gāvaḥ dhanam yasya saḥ - a Bahuvrīhi) where the first two words are taken as having viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva, mahākaṣṭaśritaḥ has also to be analysed. It is against this background that the general Sūtra, supsupā (2-1-4) is interpreted as - only one subanta would get Samāsa with a subanta (i.e. the sankhyā in the sūtra, ekavacana, is vivakṣita) as it is in the case of paśunā yajeta (one should perform a sacrifice with one paśu) in Mīmāmsā (10).

Khaṭvā kṣepe (2-1-25): A brahmacārī (bachelor/pupil) should not rest on a cot (floor-sleeping is a must). Having finished his education, taken the Bath (snātakavrata), permitted by Guru a pupil has to enter Gṛhasthāśrama (from Brahmacaryāśrama), i.e. get married and then only can rest on a cot. The one who violates the norm / tradition is blamed - khaṭvārūḍhaḥ jālmaḥ (11).

Kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam (2-1-31): A tṛtīyānta in the sense of kartā or karaṇa would get samāsa with kṛtpratyayānta and it is Tatpuruṣa - nakhanirbhinnaḥ, nakhanirbhedaḥ. Here in these examples kta & ghañ - both are kṛts. There won t be a Samāsa with taddhita - kāṣṭhaiḥ pacatitarām. Bahulam is useful to avoid samāsa in cases like dātreṇa lūnavān -ktavatu is a kṛt.

Annena vyañjanam (2-1-33) Bhakhṣyeṇa miśrīkaraṇam (2-1-34):

Vyañjanam means anything that is useful for saṁskāra (seasoning) - rice is soaked in curd and curd is vyañjanam. Such a word would get samāsa with anna (or its synonym) - dadhnā odanaḥ dadhyodanaḥ is the example. Miśrīkaraṇam means making mixture Any stuff (preferably in solid state) useful in making mixture is referred to by miśrīkaraṇam . A tṛtīyānta denoting such a stuff would get samāsa with a word denoting an etable - guḍena pṛthukāḥ guḍapṛthukāḥ (flat rice mixed with jaggery).

Kātyāyana (12) rakes up a question that is common to both the Sūtras- both are asamarthasamāsas as there is no sāmarthya between the words. Patañjali (13) elaborates - kārakas have got sāmarthya with kriyā only, there cannot be sāmarthya among kārakas. It is how cross sticks (steps) of a ladder do not have mutual connection but thru the two upward long sticks (railing). Finally Kātyāyana ramarks that since yuktārthatā is there which is decided by the understanding it can be concluded that there is sāmarthya. Patañjali supports this view and clarifies that there will be anavasthā (procedural lapse) if it is accepted that a Śabdalopa (disappearence of a word) has to be accepted in such cases - i.e. guḍasaṁsṛṣṭā pṛthukāḥ guḍapṛthkāḥ, and therefore since there is sàmpratyaya (as it is popular in the common usage) the samāsas should be accepted without the need for any amendment.

Dhvāṅkṣeṇa kṣepe (2-1-41): Saptamī is brought from saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ (2-1-39). Kātyāyana says that dhvāṅkṣa and its synonyms are to be taken (dhvāṅkṣeṇetyarthagrahaṇam). Provided that the samāsa is used to blame, a saptamyanta would get Samāsa with dhvāṅkṣa, kāka etc. - tīrthadhvānkṣaḥ / tīrthakākaḥ (14) - a student who does not stay for long in any one gurukula and keeps on shifting like a crow which goes on flying from one tīrtha (a sacred bathing place at a river) to the other, is blamed by these words. The word tīrtha is used in the sense of guru also - tīrthe ye (6-3-87) - satīrthyaḥ - it means having the same guru (ekagurukaḥ).

Kṣepe (2-1-47): A saptamyanta would get samāsa with a ktānta if it is used to blame -avataptenakulasthitam ta etat - a man starts a work but will not be present for long and such a person is blamed in this fashion. There is comparison - your presence is like that of a mongoose on a hot plate.

Pātresamitādayaśca (2-1-48): Pātresamita etc. are nipātas of saptamisamāsa in the sense of blaming. People who are puntual in attending the dinner but are not present at the time of work are called pātresamitāḥ . A person who behaves like a soldier in the house but is ineffective outside is called geheśūraḥ.

Kutsitāni kutsanaiḥ (2-1-52): Here kutsitāni means that are being treated as blameworthy. The latter should denote blame / abuse. Vaiyākaraṇakhasūciḥ is a grammarian who shows at the sky in order to divert the attention of the questioner. Here in the example, Patañjali (15) explains in his terse words - originally. Vyākaraṇa is not blameworthy (kutsitam) rather the student who studied Vyākaraṇa is, as he, due to lack of intelligence, points at the sky. Consequently since it is there in a person blameworthy, Vyākaraṇa shares the phenomenon of blameworthiness. Kaiyaṭa (16) elucidates that the implication of kim vyākaraṇam kutsitam? is that the total Samāsa should denote kutsā as śabdapravṛttinimitta, i.e. in case like vaiyākaraṇaḥ cauraḥ (the grammarian is a theif) as Vyākaraṇa per se is not blameworthy since it is one of Vedāṅgas nor the pupil.

Upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ (2-1-54): A Śabda denoting upamāna would get Samāsa with a Śabda that denotes the samānadharma (property that is common to both upameya and upamāna) in samānādhikaraṇa only- śastrīśyāmā devadattā. Here the word śastrī is upamāna and śyāmā (rather śyāmatva) is the sāmānyadharma that is there in a - śyāma (rather śyāmatva) is the sāmānyadharma. That is there in a śastrī as well as devadattā. The Sūtra is required to get pūrvanipāta to upamāna only whereas in its absence either word would get pūrvanipāta following viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa bahulam (2-1-57). The girl Devadattā is of medium complexion (or black) and sharp like a knife - is the meaning - śastrī iva śyāmā devadattā is the Vākya. Patañjali and Hari (38 verses) had an elaborate discussion on this Sūtra. Initiating the discussion Bhāṣyakāra (17) raises the question as to whether both upamāna and upameya are one and the same - i.e. there is abheda since the sāmānya, śyāmatva is there in both śastrī and devadattā, the upamāna and upameya. This is not appropriate as the word śastrī is redundant. On the other hand, if due to difference in resorts, the śyāmatva is different, then since the śyāmaguṇas in śastrī and devadattā are different, there cannot be upamānopameyabhāva caused by śyāmaguṇa (sāmānya). Hari (18) makes it clearer saying that if there is the vivakṣā (desire to say) of a single (guṇa) jāti then there is no difference (abheda) and if bheda is vivakṣita then both are taken separately.

Then Patañjali (19) clarifies that upamāna and upameya would become compatible if there is something that is common (sāmānya) and also something uncommon (viśeṣa) as well. Hari (20) illustrates - gotva among cows is sāmānya and śabala, bahula, kapila (colors) etc. are viśeṣas.

Bhāṣyakāra (21) further asserts - the above statement does not need mentioning as it is implied thru the term `upamāna - māna (measuring instrument) is taken up to know (the measurement of) the unknown and upamānam is that which roughly/nearly (not exactly) measures the same - i.e. there will be similarity (of properties) but it is not completely the same, ex. gauriva gavayaḥ (the animal gavaya is like an ox) - here guaḥ is known and the latter is unknown.

Meya is the one that can be measured/defined and māna is the one that can measure/define. Paricchedaka, avacchedaka, bhedaka and viśeṣaṇa are synonyms of māna whereas paricchedya, avacchedya, bhedya and viśeṣya are synonyms of meya. Hari (22) explains the terms upamāna and upameya at length. He gave two different commentaries on the above Bhāṣya - especially the word `tat in `tatsamīpe is taken as a pronoun referring to upameya in the first one - i.e. upamāna is that which measures nearly to upameya, whereas in the second commentary, Hari says that the pronoun `tat may refer to māna, i.e. a māna measures exactly wheras upamāna is the one which measures nearly to māna. Here in the present case śastrī is a pariccheda to Devadattā following the similarity in śyāmaguṇa. But Devadattā is a feminine character and the same is not there in śastrī. Śyāmaguṇa is upameyārtha and the sādṛśya is limited to that. Therefore, upa-samīpe (or upameyārthībhūtasādṛśye), mānam = paricchedakam - upamānam. On the other hand, since māna is pradhāna (predominant) tat means, as per the norm `sarvanāmnām pradhānaparāmarśitvāt (pronouns refer to the predominant factor), māna. Upamāna is the paricchedaka of upameya. Māna (any measuring instrument) measures exactly but upamāna, unlike māna, is a samīpaparicchedaka.

Now the term sāmānya (23) - it is popular in the sense of class or jāti. Jātirjātam ca sāmānyam - Amarakośa. But here Pāṇini employed the term in the sense of sādṛśya (similarity) and not in the sense of mahāsāmānya. Since the śyāmatva etc. which is taken up for sādṛśya is going to separate (bheda) it is called viśeṣaguṇa. Even as per the definition of the term, i.e. ekam anekānugatam (the one which is common in many) aneka can be two or more and need not necessarily be many. So here the śyāmatva is there in two things - upamāna and upameya and it is the one referred to but not jāti. The same is called bheda following prasiddhi (popularity) and aprasiddhi (non-popularity). The guṇa (sāmānya) in upamāna is popular and it is not so in the case of upameya. This aspect is dealt with by both Bhāṣyakāra and Hari. Hari (24) quotes another argument in this regard - bheda happens not only due to prasiddhi and aprasiddhi but also pūrṇatā (integrity) and apūrṇatā (non-integrity). The

śyāmatva , a guṇa is there in both a śastrī and devadattā but both are different and the minute difference is not felt. That'swhy it is called sāmānyam. In upamāna it is full whereas it is less in some aspects in upameya. It is due to this bheda that it is called viśeṣa. Such a sāmānya that is confirmed as a bhinna as well as abhinna is called sādṛśya.

Further, Patañjali and Hari address the problem of anyapadārtha in the above upamānasamāsa - anekamanyapadārthe (2-2-24) is a Sūtra which says that more than one Subanta form into a samāsa if the total unit denotes the meaning of an outside (not involved in samāsa) word, ex. pītāmbaraḥ (a man with yellow costume) means Viṣṇu. Here both the words, pīta and ambara unite and denote the meaning of an outside word, Viṣṇu.

Similarly, in the case of śastrīśyāmā (a Tatpuruṣa) also the samāsa denotes the meaning of an outside word devadattā . There are two questions - since anyapadārtha is there in both Tatpuruṣa and Bahuvrīhi why to say anyapadārthe in 2-2-24? Is there no problem by Bahuvrīhisamjñā to Tatpuruṣasamjñā? - Anyapadārtha (Bahuvrīhi) is bahiraṅga and svapadārtha (non-Bahuvrīhi) is antaraṅga (assiddham bahiraṅgamantaraṅge - Paribhāṣā). Therefore, in order to arrest Bahuvrīhi in svapadārthaprādhānya, anyapadārtha is necessary and following some usages the total Sūtra cannot be wiped out. The second question - Bahuvrīhi is instituted under śeṣādhikāra - śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ (2-2-23). Upamānasamāsa, which is a samānādhikaraṇasamāsa is not śeṣa . Therefore, there is no clash between both the samāsas. Even if it is argued that the term śeṣa is judged (by Patañjali) (25) as redundant then also following vacana (vacanasāmarthya or śruti), i.e. the Pāṇinisūtra, śastrīśyāmā has to be taken as Tatpuruṣa only. Under ākaḍārādekā samjñā (1-4-1) it was decided that by either version (prākkaḍārādekā samjñā / prākkaḍārāt param kāryam), Bahuvrīhi is checked by the viśeṣavidhi, upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ .

The siddhānta (26) is that both the words (or the samāsa) denote the upameya, devadattā only. Otherwise much more has to be said (itarathā bahvapekṣyam syāt) declares Patañjali.

Upamitam vyāghrādibhiḥ sāmānyāprayoge (2-1-55): Samānādhikaraṇena from pūrvakālaikasarvajaratpurāṇanavakevalāḥ samānādhikaraṇena (2-1-48) runs as an Adhikāra till the end of the pāda, i.e. first pāda of second Adhyāya. Upamitam means upameya. The upameya would get samāsa with words like vyāghra (i.e. in comparison) etc. in terms of samānādhikaraṇa, if the sāmānya is not used - puruṣo vyāghra iva - puruṣavyāghraḥ. If the vigraha is - puruṣo vyāghra iva śūraḥ - then since the sāmānya, śūraḥ is used there cannot be a Samāsa (27). In order to get pūrvanipāta to upamāna, Pāṇini composed this Sūtra. This checks the sāmānyasūtra, i.e. viṣeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa bahulam (2-1-56) by which either word may get pūrvanipāta.

Hari (28), in five verses, explicates the background of this Sūtra - following śaurya (valour) the word vyāghra denotes puruṣa. Therefore since the adhikaraṇa / abhidheya (thing being referred to) is the same, i.e. since there is sāmānādhikaraṇya, the Samāsa will take place. On the other hand, if the word śūra (i.e. the word denoting sāmānyadharma) is used then since vyāghraśabda denotes mṛga (an animal - and not puruṣa) and therefore the adhikaraṇa of both puruṣa and vyāghra - śabdas would be different due to which the samāsa does not take place.

In sāmānādhikaraṇya (29) too, where vyāghraśabda denotes puruṣa, since a different guṇa, i.e. need not necessarily be śaurya, it can be himsratva / violence or balavattva / strength, the usage of śūraśabda happens in samāsa as well. In order to arrest such a Samāsa the pratiṣedha, sāmānyāprayoge is necessary. Śabdas denoting commendation and condemnation (pūja and nindā) are used to specifically mention the guṇa. Abhimanāyate, sumanāyate and durmanāyate are kyaṅpratyayāntas (Sanādyantadhāturvṛtti). Here manāya is the kyaṅantadhātu, whereas su, dur and abhi are pūrvapadas similar to upasargas. Rather the pratyaya (kyaṅ) denotes the meaning which is inclusive of the meanings of these words. Nevertheless, these words are used for clarity. Patañjali (30) further declares if one resorts to vaiyadhikaraṇya or sāpekṣatva (i.e. the upameya, puruṣa is sāpekṣa with śūraḥ) to avoid samāsa then

sāmānyāprayoge is redundant but becomes a sign to pradhāna, even if it is sāpekṣa, would get Samāsa (see 2-1-1 - devadattasya gurukulam). bhṛśādibhyo bhuvyacverlopaśca halaḥ (3-1-12) is a Sūtra which institutes kyaṅ-pratyaya to bhṛśa etc. in the sense of bhavati, but if they are ending in cvi-pratyaya kyaṅ won t apply. In fact, if bhṛśādi are ending in cvi then since the sense of bhavati is already expressed kyaṅ does not come at all, then why to say acveḥ ?

Rather the restriction (niṣedha) is made following expectancy and the same (acveḥ) suggests that kyaṅ has to be applied in the sense of cvi, i.e. abhūtatadbhāva (earlier it was not, now it has become) - abhṛśaḥ bhṛśaḥ bhavati bhṛśāyate.

Veśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa bahulam (2-1-57):

Tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ (1-2-42):

A qualifier would get Samāsa with viśeṣya which is in samānādhikaraṇa - it is bahulam and the same is called Karmadhāraya. In some cases the samāsa is nitya (kṛsṇasarpaḥ) in some it does not apply (rāmo jāmadagnyaḥ), in some it is optional (nīlam utpalam / nīlotpalam) and in some cases another application (susūkṣhmajaṭakeśa - Bahuvrīhi i.e. the first two words won't get either saha supā (2-1-4) or karmadhāraya) - these are the benefits of the term bahulam (31). This samāsa is called Samānādhikaraṇasamāsa also (besides Tatpuruṣa and Karmadhāraya). Viśeṣaṇam means a separating factor. In nīlam + utpalam (a blue lotus), the word nīlam separates the utpala (with which it is connected) from other (white, red etc.) utpalas. Thefore it is called viśeṣaṇam. A thing which is mentioned without any speciality, like utpalam, is called viśeṣyam.

Bhedaka (separator), avacchedaka (allotor), upakāraka (helper) and śeṣa (remainder) are synonyms of viśeṣaṇa. Bhedya, avacchedya, upakārya and śeṣi are synonyms of viśeṣya. Viśeṣya directly gets connection with kriyā (verb). Viśeṣaṇa, while qualifying viśeṣya, would have connection with viśeṣya only. Therefore it is upakāraka

and as such it cannot have direct connection with kriyā. Hence viśeṣya is pradhāna (important) and viśeṣaṇa is apradhāna (unimportant).

Generally all the viśeṣaṇas denote the guṇa and the latter cannot be independent rather would have a resort called dravya (i.e. one cannot see the guṇa nīlatva separately from utpalam).

Hari (32), in Vākyapadīya (Vṛttisamuddeśa of Padakāṇḍa) deals at length with the concept of viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva. He refutes the argument of others who hold the following - if only akhaṇḍārtha (without bheda) is expressed then it is difficult to account for the viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva wherein bheda is pradhāna. Further it is also appropriate to say that the meaning is known in the order of Śabdas, that are heard. Hence the meanings of viśeṣaṇa and viśeṣya are to be mentioned in the same order. Moreover, a norm (nyāya) - nāgṛhītaviśeṣaṇā viśeṣye buddhiḥ (the buddhi does not take the viśeṣya without viśeṣaṇa). So that the cognition of viśeṣaṇa and viśeṣya should be taken separately. Rather, instead of leaving them separately a combined cognition - a thing having such a property, is felt. Hari refutes this argument by saying that in case both the factors, i.e. viśeṣaṇa and viśeṣya, are taken separately both of them cannot have mutual relation as both of them do not exist at the same time in the mind (buddhi).

Hari (33) explained the complicated concept of viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāva in two verses - naturally a cognition that is undevided is born thru Vṛtti. Rather, teachers, in order to make it easily digestable to students, create bheda and explain. Properties related to jāti, guṇa and kriyā would be there in every thing. The relation between these properties and things is called samavāya-sambandha, which implies that both are inseparable. At Vākya level bheda will be there between viśeṣaṇa and viśeṣya whereas in Vṛtti abhedajñāna will be there. This is precisely the difference between Vākya and Vṛtti.

Elsewhere, Hari (34) defines the terms - the one which is not known clearly is viśeṣya and which is known is viśeṣaṇa. Since it helps others, the viśeṣaṇa is apradhāna and viśeṣya is pradhāna when both the Śabdas denote guṇa and guṇī then there will be different

vibhaktis (paṭasya śuklaḥ - whiteness of cloth) and when both of them denote the same thing then there will be sāmānādhikaraṇya (both having the same vibhakti - vīraḥ puruṣaḥ) and the latter is called Karmadhāraya.

Nañ (2-2-6) : Nañ, an Avyaya would get samāsa with a samartha-subanta and it is called (nañ) Tatpuruṣa - na + brāhmaṇaḥ abrāhmaṇaḥ, i.e. a person, kṣatriya etc. who is like a brāhmaṇa but different from a brāhmaṇa.

Patañjali analyses the samāsa chiefly from three angles

1.uttarapadārthapradhānaḥ (35) - Here nañ indicates illusion or bhrānti, i.e. a person who is certainly not brāhmaṇa but is a subject of the feeling - brāhmaṇa. If this is acceped then the Samāsa means only brāhmaṇa - a viśeṣaṇa (here it is nañ) adds something without spoiling the viśeṣya. Nañ denotes abhāva (non-existence) and it is viśeṣaṇa, then abhāva of uttarapadārtha (brāhmaṇa) would be the result. This is not what is required and the implication is that it is redundant in the samāsa. Then the remaining brāhmaṇaśabda means brāhmaṇa only. Therefore abrāhmaṇamānaya means fetch a brāhmana. This is the purport, of Patañjali's statement - brāhmaṇamātrsyānayanam prāpnoti. On the other hand, if it is held that nañ denotes the absence of same qualities (of a brāhmaṇa) then also the same is the situation as there cannot be a single brāhmaṇa with all the qualities.

2. anyapadārthapradhānaḥ (36) : Here abrāhmaṇaḥ means a person like a kṣatriya, who is not a brāhmaṇa, i.e. both the words denote the meaning of another (not involved in samāsa) word like kṣatriya - na brāhmaṇaḥ asyām, i.e. a jāti with brāhmaṇavyakti.

But if this is accepted there will be problem with usages like - avarṣā hemantaḥ (the hemanta season is like varṣāḥ). Here, as per anyapadārtha the vigraha would be na varṣāḥ yasmin saḥ (Bahuvrīhi - anekamanyapadārthe, 2-2-24) and then following gostriyorupasarjanasya (1-2-48), hrasva will be effected and it will be avarṣāḥ. Avarṣāḥ is the usage and the same only is acceptable. Therefore anyapadārtha will not do.

3. pūrvapadārthapradhānaḥ (37) : If the meaning of the first word is predominant then, since nañ is an avyaya the samāsa would become an avyaya (abrāhmaṇam). Bhāṣyakāra had offered a clarification to this doubt / objection - nañ in a Vākya denotes niṣedha (restriction) only whereas in a samāsa the same denotes a dravya (thing) and this is a natural phenomenon.

Finally, after a lengthy discussion, Patañjali ruled that uttarapadārthapradhāna is legitimate. Moreover, instead of using a word like kṣatriya why is it that a term like abrāhmaṇa is used - Bhāṣyakāra responds to this question - jātihīne samdehāt durupadeśācca brāhmaṇaśabdo vartate ... tataśca paścadupalabhate nāyam brāhmaṇaḥ abrāhmaṇo'yamiti - due to wrong information, initially one thinks that someone is a brāhmaṇa and later he realises and employs the word - abrāhmaṇa.

The fact is that Vākya and Samāsa, which have already been in usage, are quite diferent and Vyākaraṇam is Śabdānuśāsana (and not Arthānuśāsana). Rather as remarked by Kaiyaṭa, Patañjali wants to discuss the intricacies of prakriya thru apoddhāra (38) (artificial separation of samāsa).

Depending on the connection of nañ with the verb and the latter word (uttarapada), two processes, viz. Prasajyapratiṣedha and Paryudāsa, take place -

prasajyapratiṣedhaḥ syāt kriyayā saha yatra nañ
paryudāsaḥ sa vijñeyo yatrottarapadena nañ

If the sentence - anekam bhojaya means do not feed a single person (i.e. feed many persons), i.e. if it is construed as - ekam na bhojaya, it is prasajyapratiṣedha (having referred, restriction).

On the otherhand, if the same sentence is interpreted as different but similar to one (i.e. two or more), i.e. if it is construed as ekabhinnam ekasadṛśam bhojaya (following the norm - nañivayuktamanyasadṛśe tathāhyarthagatiḥ), then it is Paryudāsa.

In the first process the kāraka is restricted directrly whereas in the latter one it results ultimately (see Mahābhāṣya 2-2-6 and Vākyapadīya - Vākya - 241 & 243, Pada Vṛtti, 290).

Śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ (2-2-23) *: Literally śeṣaḥ means remaining. All the other vibhaktis, i.e. dvitīyā, tṛtīyā etc. are taken by Pāṇini for samāsas and prathamā (39) is left behind. Therefore, the Samāsa of prathamāntas or samānādhikaraṇas is called Bahuvrīhi.*

Anekamanyapadārthe (2-2-24) *: Many a Subanta would get Samāsa if it (the Samāsa) denotes the meaning of another word, i.e. a word other than the ones involved in Samāsa - pītam ambaram yasya saḥ / pītāmbaraḥ viṣṇuḥ (one who has got a yellow dress).*

Bhāṣyakāra (40) advanced two sides to the aspect - padārthābhidhāna and vibhaktyarthābhidhāna and took the latter side. In Bahuvrīhi anyapadārtha is pradhāna. If sambandha is mentioned the pravṛttinimitta and sambandhi as samāsārtha then it is padārthābhidhāna. On the other hand, if sambandhi is mentioned as pravṛttinimitta and sambandha as samāsārtha then it is vibhaktyarthābhidhāna. In the case of latter, due to abhedabhāvana, the sambandhi would completely be known. First the ṣaṣṭhī is shown - citrāḥ gāvaḥ asya and in the same sense the Samāsa - citraguḥ is used and therefore this is sensible. Rather, since Pāṇini asserts anyapadārtha , finally the padārtha having sambandha would be denoted.

Further Patañjali (41) discusses the aspect of dravya liṅga and saṃkhyā and rules that in vibhaktyarthābhidhānapakṣa only, since Pāṇini employed a term arthe instead of anekamanyapade, whereby it would automatically be known anyapadārthe as Vṛtti cannot be applied in a pada, the complete padārtha having dravya liṅga and saṃkhyā is taken, i.e. since the viśeṣya devadattaḥ is used as anuprayoga it will be citraguḥ only. In the case of Bahuvrīhi (42), there is some conspicuous difference between Vākya and Vṛtti - a Vākya shows the svāmī as unimportant whereas Vṛtti shows the same as important - citrā gāvaḥ asya devadattasya / citraguḥ devadattaḥ.

Bhāṣyakāra (43) remarks that both Vākya and Vṛtti would never be used simultaneously.

Tadguṇasaṃvijñānabahuvrīhi (44) is that where the meaning of the guṇa is also taken - śuklavāsasam ānaya (fetch the man in white dress) - the person with white dress is brought. On the other hand, citragum ānaya (fetch citragu, a person who has got cows in diferent colors) - the person only is brought, i.e. not alongwith the cows. This is called atadguṇasaṃvijñānabahuvrīhi. Thus Bahuvrīhi is of two types - explains Nāgeśa in Mañjūṣā.

Saptamīviśeṣaṇe bahuvrīhau (2-2-35) *: Saptamyanta as well as viśeṣaṇaśabda, in a Bahuvrīhisamāsa, are to be placed first (upasarjanam pūrvam 2-2-30) - kaṇṭhe kālaḥ yasya saḥ kaṇṭhekālaḥ citrāḥ gāvaḥ yasya saḥ citraguḥ.*

Vyadhikaraṇabahuvrīhiḥ *: Bahuvrīhiḥ samānādhikaraṇānām says Kātyāyana under anekamanyapadārthe. So in cases like pañcabhiḥ bhuktamasya there cannot be a samāsa. For examples like kaṇṭhekālaḥ (in kaṇṭhesthaḥ kālaḥ yasya saḥ) Kātyāyana composed a Vārtika - saptamyupamānapūrvapadasyottarapadalopaśca. On the other hand, Pāṇini insinuates that there can be a Vyadhikaraṇabahuvrīhi - In 2-2-35 the word saptamī is not required as viśeṣaṇa includes saptamī also. Thus the word saptamī , having become redundant, suggests that there can be a Vyadhikaraṇabahuvrīhi - kaṇṭhekālaḥ, sthāneyogā etc. This is clarified in Kaumudī and Śekhara. Bhāṣyakāra under Vṛddhirādaic (1-1-1) resorts to Vyadhikaraṇabahuvrīhi-vṛddhirnimittam yasmin so'yam vṛddhinimittaḥ. Kaiyaṭa comments - nimitta - śabdopādānasāmarthyāt vyadhikaraṇapado bahuvrīhirāśrīyate. In Udyota, Nāgeśa sustains the concept. Jinendrabuddhi explains it is beneficial to prefer Bahuvrīhi to Tatpuruṣa (vṛddhinimittasya ca taddhitasyāraktavikāre 6-3-39). Abhidhānalakṣaṇā kṛttaddhita-samāsāḥ (kṛdantas, taddhitāntas and samāsas are acceptable if there is the usage) - is the guideline.*

Cārthe dvandvaḥ (2-2-29) *: The avyaya, ca (45) is used in four contexts:*

1. samuccayaḥ: Īśvaram gurum ca bhajasva - in this example both the words, īśvaram and gurum, do not have any mutual expectancy (or they are parasparanirapekṣa) and have individual connection with the kriyāpada, bhajasva. Here ca is used in samuccaya.

2. anvācayaḥ: If things are said as pradhāna and apradhāna and if there is ākāṅkṣā (mutual expectancy) between them the cakāra is said to be in anvācaya - bhikṣāmaṭa, gāmcānaya - here moving for bhikṣā is important and fetching the cow (it is to be fetched if found on the way) is unimportant and obviously both are with ākāṅkṣā (or apekṣā).

3. itaretarayogaḥ (46): When mixed things have connection with a verb and compatibility (sāhacaryam) is there then the cakāra is said to be in itaretarayoga - dhavakhadirau - dhavaśca khadiraśca - here the two cakāras express compatibility.

4. samāhāraḥ: The term means a group (samūha) - a group of samjñās and paribhāṣās is samjñāparibhāṣam- samjñānām paribhāṣāṇām ca samāhāraḥ. Here unlike itaretarayoga, samāhāraḥ is viśeṣya. In itaretarayoga the parts are separately known / felt whereas in samāhāra opposite is the case. In samuccaya (there is no prādhānya to cārtha) and anvācaya (both have got connection with different verbs) due to lack of sāmarthya and anabhidhāna (no usage) Samāsa does not take place. In itaretarayoga and samāhāra, Nāgeśa (47) asserts (contrast with Kaiyaṭa) that the ca in the first and second is dyotaka (i.e simply an indicator / illuminator of the already existing property), whereas in the third and fourth it is vācaka (expressing agent).

Yugapadadhikaraṇavacanatā: This complex concept is mooted by Kātyāyana (2-2-29) - siddham tu yugapadadhikaraṇavacane dvandvavacanāt. Adhikaraṇam is the meaning (padārtha) of the words involved in the samāsa. Yugapat means simultaneously. So much so that if the meanings of both the words are simultaneously expressed by each word in the samāsa then it is called dvandva (48). Thus in rāmakṛṣṇau, the word rāma expresses the meanings of both the words - rāma and kṛṣṇa and kṛṣṇa expresses the meanings of rāma and kṛṣṇa. In cases like gāmaśvampuruṣam etc. the meanings - gauḥ etc. are denoted by independent words which are not mutually connected (parasparanirapekṣa) and therefore there cannot be dvandva due to lack of yugapadadhikaraṇavacanatā. Kātyāyana (49) quotes two sentences from Veda in support of his claim - dyāvā ha kṣāmā, dyāvā cidasmai pṛthivīsannamete. Ha and cidasmai - both the words indicate that it is a Vākya. Dyośabda is in the sense of dyāvāpṛthivī (sky and earth) and the prathamādvivacana gets vṛddhi and āvādeśa following - supām sulukpūrvasavarṇāccheyaḍāḍyāyājālaḥ (7-1-39). Similarly pṛthivī means divas and pṛthivī - pūrvasavarṇadīrgha by vā chandasi (6-1-106). Following the sāmānādhikaraṇya with the verb in dvivacana - sannamete and the padapāṭha with prakṛtibhāva (īdūdeddvivacanam pragṛhyam, 1-1-11 and plutapragṛhyā aci nityam 6-1-25) it is decided that pṛthivī means divas and pṛthivī. Therefore, argues Kātyāyana, when it is possible in a vigraha it is certainly possible in a Samāsa. The result is that cārthe has to be replaced by yugapadadhikaraṇavacane.

Hari (50) elaborates the concept by five verses - the concept is not new. It is there in Śāstra, Veda and loka - the term śauṇḍaiḥ in saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ (2-1-40) means śauṇḍa, dhūrta, kitava etc. and ardharcāḥ in ardharcāḥ pumsi ca (2-4-31) means the words in ardharcādigaṇa. In Veda the term puroḍāśaḥ (puraḥ = initially, dāśyate - being offered / given) actually means a lump of flour but in practice (in the sacrifice) the same lump alongwith curd-rice, damaged milk is refered to as puroḍāśaḥ. In loka (common parlance) the sentence chatriṇaḥ yānti (people with umbrellas are going) means some of the people going have umbrellas. But, declares Hari, such a meaning is not popular in loka nor is it seen that there is any śāstrīya meaning in terms of anvaya and vyatireka.

Finally, Patañjali (51), after a lengthy discussion on other problems as well, ruled that the concept of yugapadadhikaraṇavacanatā is cumbersome (as the meaning as such is not understood) and can badly be proposed (unauthoritative). He opined that the term cārtha

is preferable as it is easy to establish Vṛtti (in both Dvandva and Ekaśeṣa). The examples picked up by Kātyāyana from Veda are termed by Patañjali as Vedic usages (i.e. there can be difference from loka) and he asserts that the dvivacana in both the places is following the Vārtika - supām supo bhavanti (7-1-39). Further he caushions of sūtrabheda (like vākyabheda, splitting of Sūtra is unacceptable). Meaning should be decided thru vṛddhavyavahāra (usage of elders). Under sarūpasūtra (1-2-64) also Kātyāyana refers to the concept by another name - sahavivakṣā (sahavivakṣāyāmekaśeṣaḥ). Hari clearly says that sahavivakṣā is there in Dvandva and Ekaśeṣa (yadā sahavivakṣām tāmāhurdvandvaikaśeṣayoḥ (Vākya, Pada, Vṛtti 28).

EKAŚEṢAḤ

Sarūpāṇāmekaśeṣa ekavibhaktau (1-2-64): If one wants one cow he would pay five thousand rupees and for ten cows he would pay ten times. Similarly, if one wants to express one meaning he has to use one Śabda and as many Śabdas for as many meanings - but rules Pāṇini, only one Śabda remains and the pratyaya denotes the number of things - i.e. brevity and economy in Śabdas. This is called Ekaśeṣa. Ekaśeṣa is considered as a Vṛtti by some (Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita etc.) and Nāgeśa opposes the idea. He clarifies that the popularity is secondary (gauṇa) as Ekaśeṣa replaces (apavāda) Dvandva (52), and Ekārthībhāva in the form of pṛthagarthānāmekārthībhāva (two separate meanings becoming a single meaning) is not there in Ekaśeṣa (tatra vṛttīścaturdhā-Mañjūṣā).

In this Sūtra, the bahuvacana in sarūpāṇām is not vivakṣita, i.e. the Sūtra applies in dvivacana as well - vṛkṣaśca vṛkṣaśca vṛkṣau.

There are ten Sūtras which regulate the Ekaśeṣa at the end of second pāda of first Adhyāya.

Ekaśeṣa is applicable in itaretarayogadvandva only and not in samāhāra. Bhāṣyakāra (53) is of the view that ekaśeṣaprakaraṇa is not necessary (pratyākhyānam) - if ākṛti is meant then ekavacana and if dravya is meant then dvivacana and bahuvacana will take place.

Aluk

Aluguttarapade (6-3-1): These two words will run as adhikāra until ānaṅṛto dvandve (6-3-25). In certain samāsas the vibhakti on the first word does not disappear and all such examples are covered in this chpater. This Sūtra checks supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ (2-4-71).

Vaiyākaraṇākhyāyām caturthyāḥ (6-3-7): In ātmanepadam, ātmanebhāṣā etc. the caturthi stands. The latter is a pre-Pāṇinian equivalent of ātmanepadam.

Gaviyudhibhyām sthiraḥ (8-3-95): This Sūtra actually institutes ṣatva to sakāra of uttarapada. Rather in the example gaviṣṭhiraḥ, the saptamī in gavi stands (aluk) as it is read so in the Sūtra. In the case of yudhiṣṭhiraḥ (Dharmarāja of Mahābhārata), the saptamī in yudhi stands due to haladantāt saptamyāḥ samjñāyām (6-3-9).

Tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam (6-3-14): Bahulam is significant - stamberamaḥ / stambaramaḥ, karṇejapaḥ / karṇajapaḥ. And in some cases luk applies - kurucaraḥ. In all the examples the uttarapada is a kṛdanta.

Ṣaṣṭhyā ākrośe (6-3-21): If nindā (scolding) is implied then the ṣaṣṭhī stands - caurasyakulam. Paśyatoharaḥ (pickpocket), vācoyuktiḥ etc. are analysed thru the Vārtika - vākdikpasyadbhyo yuktidaṇḍahareṣu. Devānāmpriya means a mūrkha (fool) and is a nipāta thru the Vārtika - devānāmpriya iti ca mūrkhe.

Samāsāśrayavidhis

Hṛdayasya hṛllekhayadaṇlāseṣu (6-3-50): It is in third pāda of sixth Adhyāya that Pāṇini instituted certain vidhis applicable in samāsas - hṛt would replace hṛdaya if the uttarapada is either lekha / yat / aṇnanta / lāsa - hṛllekhaḥ, hṛdyam etc.

Himakāṣihatiṣu ca (6-3-54): Pāda is replaced by pat if followed by hima / kāṣi / hati - paddhimam, patkāṣiḥ and paddhatiḥ.

Kāre satyāgadasya (6-3-70): Mum would come on satya and agada if followed by kāra - satyamkāraḥ, agadamkāraḥ (doctor). Timiṅgilaḥ (whale) - is thru a Vārtika gile gilasya .

Rātreḥ kṛti vibhāṣā (6-3-72): Rātri would get mumāgama optionally if followed by a kṛdanta - rātrimcaraḥ / rātricaraḥ (a demon).

Caraṇe brahmacāriṇi (6-3-86): The word samāna is replaced by sa if followed by the uttarapada - brahmacārī - one who is a classmate is called sabrahmacārī .

Tīrthe ye (6-3-87): If tīrtha is uttarapada and yakārādi-pratyaya is vivakṣita then sa replaces samāna - satīrthyaḥ (a pupil having the same guru, i.e. both studied at the same guru at different times). Yatpratyaya on satīrtha by samānatīrthe vāsī (4-4-107).

Dṛgdṛśavatuṣu (6-3-89): Samāna is replaced by sa - sadṛk - sadṛśaḥ.

Idamkimorīśkī (6-3-90): If followed by dṛk, dṛśa and vatup then idam and kim are replaced by īś and kī respectively - īdṛk - īdṛśaḥ; kīdṛk - kīdṛśaḥ; īdṛkṣaḥ, kīdṛkṣaḥ, iyān.

Koḥ kattatpuruṣe'ci (6-3-101): Ku (bad / damaged) is replaced by kat if followed by ajādyuttarapada in Tatpuruṣa - kadannam (damaged rice).

Vibhāṣā puruṣe (6-3-106): Ku is replaced by kat optionally - kāpuruṣaḥ / kupuruṣaḥ (a vicious person).

Kavam coṣṇe (6-3-107): Ku is replaced by kava / ka / kat if followed by uṣṇa - kavoṣṇam / koṣṇam / kaduṣṇam (warm, koṣṇam kavoṣṇam mandoṣṇam kaduṣṇam triṣu tadvati - Amarakośa).

Pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam (6-3-109): Pṛodara, valāhaka etc. are to be taken (as sādhuśabdas) as they are pronounced by Śiṣṭas (refer to Mahābhāṣya for a definition of Āryas who are considered as Śiṣṭas. Āryans are different from Āryas).

Vale (6-3-118): In Samjñā, dīrgha will come if followed by valapratyaya - kṛṣīvalaḥ (farmer).

Upasargasya ghañyamanuṣye bahulam (6-3-122): Upasarga will get dīrgha (bahula) if followed by a ghañanta, the samāsa should not denote a man parīpākaḥ / paripākaḥ. Niṣāda is the counter-example.

Aṣṭanaḥ samjñāyām (6-3-125): Aṣṭa will get dīrgha if followed by uttarapada - aṣṭāpadam.

Mitre carṣau (6-3-130): Dīrgha to the first word if followed by mitra and if ṛṣi is denoted - Viśvāmitraḥ.

Vāhanamāhitāt (8-4-8): The na in `vāhana (a nipāta) will get `ṇatva if the former word denotes the load - ikṣuvāhaṇam (a vehicle laden with sugarcane).

Kustumburūṇi jātiḥ (6-1-143): Suṭ is put as nipāta if it is the name of a grain. Kutumburūṇi is the other.

Āścaryamanitye (6-1-147): In the sense of surprise the word āścarya is read as nipāta, i.e. suṭ is the āgama. Acara is the other.

Maskaramaskariṇau veṇuparivrājakayoḥ (6-1-154): Makara is there in the sense of crocodile. Maskara is a nipāta with suḍāgama in the sense of veṇu (flute). Makarī means ocean. Maskarī, is a nipāta with suḍāgama in the sense of a sannyāsī (one who renounced the worldly bindings - a hermit). A person who preaches - do not do kāmyakarmas, do not do kāmyakarmas and you will get śānti - is a maskarī (54). Nityanaimittikakarmas cannot be renounced even by a śannyāsī. So here karmas are kāmyakarmas only - kāmyānām karmaṇām nyāsam sannyāsam kavayo viduḥ - says Bhagavadgīta.

Pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca samjñāyām (6-1-157): These are nipātas with suḍāgama in case they are names - pāraskaraḥ, kiṣkindhā etc. There are vārtikas - tadbṛhatoḥ coradevatayoḥ suṭ talopaśca -

taskaraḥ, Bṛhaspatiḥ, prāyasya citticittayoḥ prāyaścittiḥ,prāyaścittam.

KṚDVṚTTIḤ

Kṛt is the name of pratyayas instituted under the Adhikāra - dhātoḥ (3-1-91) by a Sūtra-kṛdatiṅ (3-1-93). Pratyayaḥ, paraśca, ādyudāttaśca (3-1-1, 2, 3) are Adhikāras. Therefore, kṛt is a non-tiṅ-pratyaya instituted on a dhātu and it will come as para and will have ādyudāttasvara - is the meaning. Kṛt-pratyayas are instituted in the sense of different kārakas, i.e. kartṛ, karma, karaṇa, sampradāna, apādāna, adhikaraṇa, and bhāva.

Ekārthībhāva: *Kātyāyana and Patañjali discuss this aspect under tatropapadam saptamīstham (3-1-92). Bhāṣyakāra (1) rules that kṛdvidhi is padavidhi as there is padagandha and padavidhi will be in the case of samarthas. Nāgeśa (2) says that the word gandha means sambandha (gandho gandhaka āmode leśe sambandhagarvayoḥ - Amarakośa). Patañjali (3) refutes the amendment by Kātyāyana - upapadasamjñāyām samarthavacanam. The latter opined that the term samartha has to be added. Under samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ (2-2-1) also Bhāṣyakāra touched this aspect. Kaiyaṭa (4) clearly says (Pradīpa 2-2-1) that a mahatī samjñā , i.e. upapadam, is exclusively for bringing the kṛdanta into the ambit of samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ (2-2-1) as the pratyaya has got pada as its resort. Nāgeśa (5) further clarifies and adds that the word tatra in the Samjñāsūtra (tatropapadam saptamīstham 3-1-92) is also a sign and it means somehow or the other padasambandhividhi should be brought under 2-2-1.*

The problem is this - in kṛdanta the pratyaya is applied on a dhātu, i.e. after applying the kṛtpratyaya the unit would be eligible to receive suppratyayas, whereas in the case of Samāsa, Taddhita and Subdhātu the padas (subantas) are taken and it is fit to call them Padavidhis. Therefore, somehow or the other, kṛdanta should be certified as a Padavidhi. A big name (mahatī samjñā) like upapadam is given by Pāṇini-argues Patañjali, in order to accommodate kṛdanta as a Padavidhi. Since there is Ekārthībhāva in nagarakāra, kumbhakāra etc., all other kṛdvidhis have to be justified as having

Vṛtti - so padoddeśyakavidhi is padavidhi is the connotation. Patañjali (6) under 3-1-92 clarifies that due to asāmarthya, karmaṇyaṇ (3-2-1) does not apply in case of - mahāntam kumbham karoti but it applies in case of - mahān kumbho mahākumbhaḥ, mahākumbham karotīti mahākumbhakāraḥ (in the former the word kumbham is sākāṅkṣa with mahāntam and therefore saviśeṣaṇānām vṛttirna).

Kṛtyāḥ (3-1-95): This is an Adhikārasūtra before ṇvultṛcau (3-1-133). A group of seven kṛt-pratyayas, i.e. tavyat, tavya, anīyar, yat, ṇyat, kyap and kelimar (by Kātyāyana) are given an additional name - kṛtya for brevity while instituting certain applications - tayoreva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ (3-4-70), kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam (3-3-113), arhe kṛtyatṛcaśca (3-3-169) etc. All the kṛtyapratyayas come in the sense of bhāva and karma following tayoreva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ (3-4-70). On sakarmakadhātus in karmārtha and on akarmakadhātus in bhāvārtha - are they applied. This rule replaces the general rule kartari kṛt (3-4-67).

Vā sarūpo' striyām (3-1-94): This is a Paribhāṣa and does not apply to pratyayas under the Adhikāra - striyām (4-1-3). Under the Adhikāra, dhātoḥ (3-1-91) a dissimilar pratyaya replaces the original pratyaya optionally. Dissimilarity has to be considered after stripping off the anubandhas (nānubandhakṛtam asārūpyam) (7) - gām dadāti iti godaḥ. Here ka-pratyaya by āto' nupasarge kaḥ (3-2-3) totally replaces the original aṇ by karmaṇyaṇ (3-2-1) due to similarity (after stripping) - here aṇ is called utsarga whereas ka is apavāda. Both vikṣipaḥ and vikṣepakaḥ will be there as a result of this Paribhāṣā - two dissimilar pratyayas, viz. ka by igupadhajñāprīkiraḥ kaḥ (3-1-135) and ṇvul by ṇvultṛcau (3-1-133) are applied. Therefore the dissimilarity has to be decided depending on prayoga (usage).

So far as the astriyām - regulation is concerned, Kaiyaṭa (8) (Nyāsa also) clarifies that Vāsarūpavidhi applies even beyond striyām (4-1-3), rather it is anitya (uncertain - not compulsory) beyond 4-1-3 as Pāṇini takes kṛtya and tṛc in arhe kṛtyatṛcaśca (3-3-169). And, further, kṛtyas, in addition to bhāvārtha and karmārtha, are applicable in arhārtha also.

Tavyattavyānīyaraḥ (3-1-96): Tavyat-kartavyam. The takāra is for svaritasvara by titsvaritam (6-2-179). Tavya-kartavyam. Ādyudāttasvara by ādyudāttaśca (3-1-3) and the same, due to the Adhikāra, Pratyayaḥ (3-1-1), is called pratyayasvara also. Anīyar - karaṇīyam, Madhyodāttasvara by upottamam riti (6-1-211).

Kelimara upasamkhyānam: Kātyāyana s Vārtika for another kṛtya-pratyaya - kelimar - pacelimāḥ paktavyāḥ māṣāḥ - apparently the pratyaya is exhibited by Bhāṣyakāra (9) in karmārtha. Kāśikā-vṛttikāra says that kelimar is in karmakartṛ, i.e. where karma itself is kartā (pacelimam means cooking on its own). Dadarśa mālūraphalam pacelimam - is the usage of Śrīharṣa in Naiṣadhīyacarita.

Vasestavyat kartari ṇicca, taddhito vā: This is like tailac / taila, goṣṭhac / goṣṭha in Taddhitas - Vāstavya is the Śabda. Kātyāyana analyses the Śabda as a kṛdanta as well as a taddhitānta - vas is the dhātu, it gets tavya in kartrartha and becomes ṇit as well - the result is vāstavyaḥ. On the other hand, vāstuni bhavaḥ - vāstavyaḥ - vāstu + yat (digādibhyo yat 4-3-54, under the Adhikāra - tatra bhavaḥ, 4-3-53).

The analysis of the term vāstavya (10) indicates that it is the endeavour of Vaiyākaraṇas to show the breakup of nityaśabdas in order to certify that they are Śabdas (i.e. not apaśabdas) and therefore fit for usage as well as for attaining Dharma. The device (upāya) in the analysis may differ but the product is the same. Hari explains that an upāya is that which is taken up for some purpose and at the end of the work it is left behind and there is no any norm so far as the upāyas are concerned.

Hanasta ca (3-1-108): When a subanta is upapada han-dhātu would get kyap-pratyaya and ta as antādeśa - bhrūṇahatyā, śvahatyā. Since supi would come (from vadaḥ supi kyapca 3-1-106) as anuvṛtti, bare hatyā as a word is not acceptable.

Bhṛño' samjñāyām (3-1-112): It will be bhṛtyaḥ (servant) if not a Samjñā - due to pakāra in kyap, tuk would come as āgama by

hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk (6-1-71). In Samjñā ṇyat would come by ṛhalorṇyat (3-1-124) - bhāryā.

Amāvasyadanyatarasyām (3-1-122): *The avyaya - amā means saha (with). Both Sun and Moon live together on this day and amāvas + ṇyat = amāvāsyā . Amāvasyā is a yat-pratyayānta. Amāvāsyā tvamāvasyā darśaḥ sūryendusangamaḥ - Amarakośa.*

Vaco'śabdasamjñāyām (7-3-67): *yat-pratyaya on vac -vācyam. This Sūtra restricts kutva if it is not a name of a Śabda. Vākyam is the counter example.*

Praiṣātisargaprāptakāleṣu kṛtyāśca (3-3-163): *Ca is for loṭ. Praiṣa means vidhi, atisarga is permission to do as one likes, prāptakāla is the right time. bhàvatā yaṣṭavyam, guruṇā bhoktavyam, tvayā gantavyam / gamanīyam / gamyam.*

Arhe kṛtyatṛcaśca (3-3-169): *Arha is fit - stotumarhaḥ stutyaḥ*

Śaki liṅca (3-3-172): *In the sense of capable - voḍhum śakyo voḍhavyaḥ / vahanīyaḥ / vāhyaḥ (capable of carrying).*

Kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam (3-3-113): *Kṛtyas and lyuṭ in other senses - dīyate asmai dānīyaḥ vipraḥ.*

Ṇvultṛcau (3-1-133): *Two pratyayas in kartrartha (kartari kṛt 3-4-67)- kārakaḥ / kartā. Voḍhumarhaḥ voḍhā (tṛc by arhe kṛtyatṛcaśca 3-1-133). Due to bahulam (11) in kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam (3-3-113) - pādābhyām hriyate pādahārakaḥ - ṇvul karmaṇi.*

Nandigrahipacādibhyo lyuṇinyacaḥ (3-1-134): *Nandyādidhātus would get lyuṭ, grahyādis get ṇini and pacādis ac - nandanaḥ, grāhī, pacaḥ. Kātyāyana amends - ajapi sarvadhātubhyaḥ - bhavaḥ, savaḥ. This is what is popularly called - pacādyac . Pāṇini suggested, that pacādi is an ākṛtigaṇa, thru usages like kare (śivaśamariṣṭasya kare (4-4-143) and ghaṭaḥ (karmaṇi ghaṭo'ṭhac 5-2-35).*

Gehe kaḥ (3-1-144): *Grah-dhātu would get ka-pratyaya in the sense of a house-gṛham.*

Śilpini ṣvun (3-1-145): *Śilpam is expertise. Kātyāyana regulates - nṛtikhanirañjibhya eva. Nartakaḥ - nartakī, khanakaḥ - khanakī,rajakaḥ - rajakī.*

Karmaṇyaṇ (3-2-1): *When a karmavācaka is upapada the dhātu would get aṇ-pratyaya. Upapadamatiṅ (2-2-19) - upapadasamāsa-kumbham karotīti kumbhakāraḥ (potter), nagarakāraḥ (town-planner). Here karmaṇi refers to nirvartya and vikārya - asserts Kātyāyana (12) - the karma defined by karturīpsitatamam karma (1-4-49) is of three types as explained by Hari - nirvartyam, vikāryam and prāpyam. A thing which does not have the cause or wherein the cause is not mentioned (avivakṣita) - both are called nirvartya - samyogam karoti, ghaṭam karoti. If the prakṛti (cause) is mentioned then it is vikāryakarma - mṛdam ghaṭam karoti (making a pot with clay). Prāpyakarma is that wherein no change is noticed through either Pratyakṣa or Anumāna (Perception / Inference) - Ādityam paśyati, grāmam gacchati. In both the examples no change has taken place - by looking no change has taken place in the Sun and by going, the village did not undergo any change. Prāpyakarma is not the subject of this Sūtra (i.e. karmaṇi). Further, Kātyāyana (13) says that since there is no usage (of aṇpratyayāntaśabda) in the case of prāpyakarma there is no aṇpratyaya. Rather in the sense of niyukta (employed) aṇpratyaya is seen (yatra ca niyuktaḥ - Kātyāyana) - chatradhāraḥ (umbrella-holder), dvārapālaḥ (gate-keeper) - these examples fall under prāpyakarma.*

Ātmamāne khaśca (3-2-83): *Khaś-pratyaya in the sense of ātmamāna, i.e. if one thinks himself (others won't say so) - one who thinks himself that he is a paṇḍita is called paṇḍitammanyaḥ . ini-pratyaya due to cakāra - paṇḍitammānī.*

Brahmabhrūṇavṛtreṣu kvip (3-2-87): *Kvip-pratyaya would come on han-dhātu in bhūtārtha when brahma, bhrūṇa and vṛtra are upapadas. Kvip is a sarvalopi-pratyaya, i.e. the pratyaya disappears completely. The purpose is that the examples - brahmahā, bhrūṇahā and vṛtrahā would become kṛdantas and as per the norm - kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca (1-2-46) become Prātipadikas and get sups. Subantam is Padam.*

Karmaṇinivikriyaḥ (3-2-93): Kātyāyana adds - karamaṇi kutsite . Ghee should not be sold as per Dharmaśāstra. When karmavācaka is upapada vi + kṛ would get ini -pratyaya, should the thing denoted by karmavācaka is restricted from trading - ghṛtavikrayī, somavikrayī.

Saptamyām janerḍaḥ (3-2-97): When saptamyanta is upapada janī dhātu would get ḍa-pratyaya, ṭilopa - sarasi jātam sarasijam (a lotus born in a pond).

Upasarge ca samjñāyām (3-2-99): If upasarga is upapada and if it is going to become a name then janī would get ḍa-pratyaya-prajāḥ (people).

Niṣṭhā (3-2-102): Kta and ktavatu - both the pratyayas are called - niṣṭhā (ktaktavatū niṣṭhā, 1-1-26). In bhūtakāla these pratyayas are applied. Kta is in the sense of bhāva and karma (following tayoreva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ, 3-4-70) whereas ktavatu is in kartrartha (following kartari kṛt, 3-4-67) - kṛtaḥ -kṛtavān. There are a number of applications involving both these pratyayas. Therefore, Pāṇini had given a separate name to these two pratyayas for brevity - niṣṭhāyāmaṇyadarthe (6-4-60), radābhyām niṣṭhāto naḥ pūrvasya ca daḥ (8-2-42), niṣṭhā ca (6-1-105) etc.

Radābhyām niṣṭhāto naḥ pūrvasya ca daḥ (8-2-42): Two sentences (Sūtras) are combined into one. Niṣṭhātakāra on ra and da would become nakāra and the preceding dakāra also becomes nakāra - chid + ta chinnaḥ, bhid + ta bhinnaḥ.

Divo' vijigīṣāyām (8-2-49): The niṣṭhātakāra on div-dhātu would be replaced by nakāra if not in the sense of vijigīṣa (a desire to conquer / win) - dyūnaḥ. In vijigīṣa - dyūtam (gambling).

Śuṣaḥ kaḥ, paco vaḥ, kṣāyo maḥ (8-2-51, 52, 53): The niṣṭhātakāra is replaced by ka, va and ma in case of dhātus-śuṣ, pac and kṣai - śuṣkaḥ, pakvaḥ and kṣāmaḥ.

Ṛṇamādhamarṇye (8-2-60): Adhamarṇa is lonee (uttamarṇa is loner). Kta-pratyaya on ṛ-dhātu - ṛṇa is a nipāta (prescription) in the sense of lone. Ṛtam is the counter example and it means satyam (truth).

Ninadībhyām snāteḥ kauśale (8-3-89): The sakāra in ktāntaśabda - snāta- upon ni and nadi would be replaced by ṣakāra if the words denote expertise - niṣṇātaḥ śāstreṣu, nadyām kuśalam snāti - nadīṣṇaḥ.

Sūtram pratiṣṇātam (8-3-90): Ṣatva to sakāra on prati if it qualifies a Sūtram - it means the Sūtra is impeccable.

Matibuddhipūjārthebhyaśca (3-2-188): Kta-pratyaya in vartamānakāla. Here mati means icchā (desire) as buddhi is also taken by Ācārya (buddhirmanīṣādhiṣaṇādhīḥ prajñā śemuṣī matiḥ - Amarakośa). The cakāra indicates that there are more (anuktasamuccayārtha). Mataḥ, buddhaḥ, pūjitaḥ, arcitaḥ etc.

Napumsake bhāve ktaḥ (3-3-114): If the bhāva is associated with klībatva kta-pratyaya would come in general, i.e. no specific time like present, past etc. Jalpitam, śayitam, hasitam etc. Patañjali (and Kaiyaṭa) under ṇeradhyayane vṛttam (7-1-26) clearly says that this kta-pratyaya applies only on akarmakas. In examples like gatam, bhuktam etc. akarmakatva is due to avivakṣitakarmatva (karmatva is not intended).

Jīryateratṛn (3-2-104): Jṝṣ (vayohānau) - a Divādidhātu will get atṛn-pratyaya in bhūtakāla - jaran jarantau jarantaḥ. Vāsarūpo striyām - kta & ktavatu - jīrṇaḥ / jīrṇavān. Jaran sounds and looks like śatṛ-pratyayānta. A single Sūtra for both the pratyayas by niṣṭhā would fecilitate application of both in cases like this. On the other hand, Vāsarūpavidhi results in a single pratyaya. Nakāra is for ādyudāttasvara.

Chandasi liṭ, liṭaḥ kānajvā, kvasuśca (3-2-105, 106, 107): All the three Munis, viz. Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali agree that both kānac and kvasu are exclusively vedic, i.e. they cannot be used in Loka - bandhe vṛtrasya yadvadbadhānasya rodasī, tvamarṇavān badbadhānām aramṇāḥ.

Kātyāyana (14) and Patañjali (15) had a useful discussion about the kittva in kānac - initially it is proposed by the former that for samyogāntas kittva is needed, i.e. asamyogāntās are taken care of by asamyogāllit kit (1-2-5) - the purpose of ṅittva or kittva is to arrest Guṇa and Vṛddhi and here ṅittva effects upadhālopa. Patañjali dismisses this proposition - both kānac and kvasu are vedic. In Veda liṭ becomes sārvadhātukam and ṅit as well (chandasyubhayathā, 3-4-117); sārvadhātukamapit, 1-2-4, apitsārvadhātukam ṅidvat syāt) and therefore upadhālopa will take place. Kātyāyana (16) offers another benefit-to arrest Guṇa in ṛkārāntadhātus. Patañjali (17) (save for his usage papuṣaḥ, a kvasu-pratyayānta under 4-3-24), seems to be forwarding this view.

Jinendrabuddhi (18), the author of Nyāsa had slightly different argument - kitkaraṇa is useful in cases that are samyogāntas like - bandha (bandhane). As far as asamyogāntas are concerned there is one Sūtra - asamyogāllit kit (1-2-5). In fact, kittva to saṃyogāntas is useful in Loka and not Veda as there is - chandasyubhayathā (3-4-117). There is no any specific benefit in Veda due to kittva or ṅittva. On the other hand kittva is useful in Loka - nipapurāṇa iti (ni + pṝ+ kānac). Therefore, this is a sign (jñāpaka) to decide that kānac can be used in Loka.

Patañjali under vibhāṣā pūrvāhṇāparāhṇābhyām (4-3-24) used a kvasupratyayānta - papuṣa āgatam papivadrūpyam and this indicates that kvasu can be used in Loka also. - śreyāmsi sarvāṇyadhijagmuṣaste (Raghuvaṃśa 5-34).

While Dīkṣita says that poets have crossed the boundaryline (Kaumudī) Nāgeśa in Udyota under vibhāṣā pūrvāhṇāparāhṇābhyām (4-3-24) remarks that the usage - papuṣaḥ by Patañjali insinuates the fact (advanced by some) that in Loka also kvasu is used occasionally.

Upeyivānanāśvānanūcānaśca (3-2-109): *All the three are kvasu-pratyayāntas read as nipātas. In upeyivān kvasu is nitya, i.e. no liṭ in bhūta. The upasarga in this word is not important - says Kāśikā. This is due to the term bahulam coming from bahulam chandasi (3-2-88) - explains the author of Nyāsa (19). Patañjali (20) says that īy is the nipātana and here Kaiyaṭa says that there is another version - iy. Nāgeśa (21) takes the line that the dīrghapāṭha as well as the pronunciation without sandhi should be seen as the origin of avivakṣa of upasarga . He also refers to others who accepted the other version iy and avivakṣa has got no authority and therefore upeyivān only is sādhu in Loka, whereas īyivān etc. is due to varṇavyatyaya in Veda.*

In anūcāna, explains Patañjali (22) following Kātyāyana (23), the pratyaya is in kartrartha and it will be anūktam elsewhere, i.e. in bhāva and karma.

Laṭaśśatṛśānacāvaprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe (3-2-124): *Pacan and pacamāna are examples. Vartamāne laṭ (3-2-123) is the earlier Sūtra. While laṭ is coming to this Sūtra, the use of the word laṭaḥ suggests that śatṛ and śānac - both the pratyayas are seen in prathamāsāmānādhikaraṇya also occasionally - san brāhmaṇaḥ. Kātyāyana adds an amendment - māṅi ākrośe iti vācyam (vārtikam 2109) - mājīvanyaḥ parāvajñāduḥkhadagdho'pi jīvati (Śiśupālavadha 2-45) - a person who is burnt by the insult of enemies but is still alive - damn it - this is used blaming a person. In Sambodhana (addressing) also śatṛ and śānac are employed (sambodhane ca, 3-2-125) - he pacan, he pacamāna. Both the pratyayas are used optionally in the place of lṛṭ (future tense) - tau sat, lṛtaḥ sadvā (3-2-127, 3-3-14) - kariṣyantam, kariṣyamāṇam paśya, he kariṣyan.*

Vadeśśaturvasuḥ (7-1-36): *The śatṛ on vida (jñāne) would be optionally replaced by vasu - vidvān / vidan, viduṣī (ṅīp).*

Pūṅyajoḥ śānan (3-2-128): *In vartamānakāla - pavamānaḥ, yajamānaḥ. Unlike the śānac-pratyaya this will not come in the place of any lakāra but independent and it is in kartrartha.*

Tṛn (3-2-135): *Upto kvip pratyaya (3-2-177) all the pratyayas starting with tṛn are to be applied in tacchīla (nature), taddharma (duty / dharma) and tatsādhukārī (an expert) as per the Sūtra - ākvestacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu (3-2-134). Tṛc-pratyaya*

would cause antodāttasvara (or kṛtsvara) by gatikārakopapadāt kṛt (6-2-139) whereas tṛn causes pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara by tādau ca niti kṛtyatau , gatiranantaraḥ (6-2-50, 49) - explain Nyāsakāra and Kaiyaṭa.

taddharma: muṇḍayitāraḥ śrāviṣṭhāyanā bhavanti vadhūmūḍhām (Kāśikā) - here muṇḍayitāraḥ is tṛnnanta (those who make clean-shaven) - śrāviṣṭhāyanas are people of a country. They, as a custom get the bride s head clean-shaven.

tacchīla: kartā kaṭam (a mat-maker) - it is a habit to make mats - one who does things without expecting anything in return.

tatsādhukārī: kartā kaṭam - an expert in making mats.

Uṇādayo bahulam (3-3-1): Kṛvāpājimisvadisādhyaśūbhya uṇ - is the first of Uṇādisūtras composed by another grammarian, Śākaṭāyana. Since the first pratyaya is uṇ they are called Uṇādi, Kāruḥ, vāyuḥ, jāyuḥ etc. are the nouns, that have emerged thru this Sūtra by adding uṇ-pratyaya on kṛ etc. roots in vartamānakāla. Pāṇini thru the present Sūtra wants to certify these grammatical applications and the resulting Śabdas as fit for usage. Rather, since Śākaṭāyana's Uṇādisūtras are not exhaustive, Pāṇini employed the term bahulam(24) which, as was already explained, is useful in accommodating the unsaid but required further grammatical applications. Nāgeśa (25) remarks that even Brahman (the Creator) cannot offer the complete list of roots and suffixes.

Vyutpattipakṣa and Avyutpattipakṣa: There are two sides so far as the form of Śabdas is concerned - Nairuktas and Śākaṭāyana claim that all nouns (nāma is the pre-Pāṇinian name for Pāṇini s Prātipadikam) are produced by adding different pratyayas to dhātus (roots) whereas others hold that the analysis of prakṛti and pratyaya is artificial and there are readymade words for use and they are eternal (nitya) like a pravāha (stream). Under the present Sūtra Kātyāyana (26) and Patañjali (27) refer to Vyutpattipakṣa of Nairuktas and Śākaṭāyana. Both have suggested that as per the

grammatical applications required, the anubandhas (itsamjñas) in Uṇādis are to be guessed.

Then what about Pāṇini? Does he support Vyutpattipakṣa or Avyūtpattipakṣa? - Nāgeśa had an elaborate discussion on this issue in Laghuśabdenduśekhara. The conclusion was that Pāṇini s was Avyūtpattipakṣa only -

Apparently, Pāṇini, no doubt, instituted rules, i.e. kṛts and forwarded Uṇādi suggesting that nāmas can be produced thru root and suffix combination. Rather under - āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghām pratyayādīnām, 7-1-2, Patañjali (28), quoting Kātyāyana says that Pāṇini prefers Avyutpattipakṣa - Kātyāyana amends the above Sūtra by a Vārtika - tatroṇādipratiṣedhaḥ, which means that a restriction be made so that the above ādeśās - āyan, ey etc. won t apply in Uṇādis. The result is that śaṅkhaḥ (conch) ṣaṇḍhaḥ (an impotent man) etc. which are Uṇādyantas are not affected by this Sūtra. He further adds one more Vārtika - dhātorveyaṅvacanāt. Ṛteriyaṅ (3-1-29) - is a Sūtra by which ṛ- dhātu would receive a pratyaya - īyaṅ. So this is a dhātupratyaya. And in case it is acceptable to Pāṇini that prātipadikas are produced thru root and suffix combination (Vyutpatti) then he would have read - ṛteśchaṅ and by 7-1-2 one would get ṛtīya. Since Pāṇini composed such a Sūtra it becomes a jñāpaka (sign) to conclude that he suggests Avyutpattipakṣa. Against this background Kātyāyana amends further - prātipadikavijñānācca pāṇineḥ siddham, which means that Pāṇini believes - Uṇādis are avyutpannaprātipadikas. (uṇādayo'vyutpannāni prātipadikāni - Vārtikam).

Under nityam samāse'nuttarapadasthasya (8-3-45), Kātyāyana (29) says that following Avyutpattipakṣa, sarpis etc. will get nityaṣatva by this Sūtra and to get vikalpa by isusoḥ sāmarthye (8-3-44) in cases like paramasarpiṣkuṇḍikā (which is a Vākya) vyapekṣā has to be resorted to (Nāgeśa) (30) and the restriction - anuttarapadasthasya is required. Jinendrabuddhi explained this under 8-3-44.

The word Kamsa in addition to Kamidhātu in ataḥ kṛkami - kamsakumbhapātrakuśākarṇiṣvanavyayasya (8-3-46) (31) is also a

sign to conclude that Pāṇini is a follower of Avyutpattipakṣa - the word kamsa can be produced by applying sa-pratyaya (an uṇādi) on kami-dhātu, then there is no need to separately read kamsaśabda in the above Sūtra unless one does not accept that nāmas can be produced by combining dhātus and pratyayas. Under - ādeśapratyayayoḥ (8-3-59) this aspect is discussed by Patañjali, Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa.

Finally, Nāgeśa (32) under 8-3-59 explains the meaning of the present Sūtra, i.e. uṇādayo bahulam - uṇādyantaśabdas are produced thru, prakṛti and pratyaya in another Vyākaraṇa and there for the rest of the applications, the term bahulam is required, whereas in my Śāstra (i.e. Pāṇini's) these Śabdas are avyutpannas and for some applications (ṣatva in sarpiṣaḥ, yajuṣaḥ etc.) bahulam is required.

Hari (33) in Vākyakāṇḍa of Vākyapadīya registered both these pakṣas - due to its form only (i.e. svarūpa is the pravṛttinimitta) gośabda delivers the meaning and onè need not try for any derivation of any Śabda (Avyutpatti according to Aukthikya etc.) whereas some scholars argue that both, its person and the meaning delivered by it, are to be taken into consideration (Vyutpatti).

Bhāve (3-3-18): *Ghañ from padarujaviśaspṛśo ghañ (3-3-16) is coming as anuvṛtti. The word bhāva itself is ghañ-pratyayānta. What about strīliṅga and napumsakaliṅga? (bhūtau and bhavane) - Patañjali (34) says that the pumliṅga is to be ignored - i.e. since one should exhibit by some liṅga or the other, pumliṅga is taken, same is the case with ekavacana also. Nāntarīyakatvam - is a term used to express the concept - na + antarā + cha - is the prakiryā. It means inevitability, i.e. since one has to use a pada, and not either a prakṛti or pratyaya, to express an idea, there should necessarily be some liṅga and some vacana - one cannot get rice without chaff, it is first paddy and after removing the husk rice is attained.*

Patañjali offers another solution - rather both sāmānya and viśeṣa are beìng expressed. Sāmānya (35) is that which penetrates into all viśeṣas but viśeṣa cannot penetrate into all sāmānyas. Bhāva is sāmānya, it means the dhātvartha in the form of siddha (visible / tangible or having a concrete form). For example - pac (to cook) is the dhātu - ghañ bhāve - pākaḥ. Here there is sāmānya in the form of siddhatva (expressed by the term bhāva) and the viśeṣa - cooking. Similarly - tyaj (to give up) - bhāve ghañ - tyāgaḥ. The liṅga and vacana depend upon the pratyaya - ktin - paktiḥ, lyuṭ-pacanam.

Hari (36) tried to explain the concept in a different way - bhāve means bhāve iva (like in the case of bhāva), i.e. on bhū-dhātu it will be bhāva in bhāvārtha. Similarly, on pac it will be pāka (cooking) - i.e. the Sūtra is like a simile (upamāna). Therefore, since the liṅga served its purpose in (upamāṇa) nirdeśa it is to be ignored (atantram).

Patañjali (37), while explaining as to how a single Śabda (bhāve) can serve two purposes, i.e. denoting sāmānya and viśeṣa offered a simile - a teacher has got two desciples and one of them is his nephew, i.e. the teacher is maternal uncle to one of them. The first of them asked the second to salute the teacher. He saluted his uncle. The second one asked the first one to salute his uncle. He saluted the teacher. The point to note is that the same person can be a teacher (sāmānya) and uncle (viśeṣa) at a time. Hari (38) also explicated the simile.

The literal meaning of the term bhāva is dhātvartha (39) (the meaning of the verb).

Under sārvadhātuke yak (3-1-67) Patañjali (40) explains (and clarifies) the difference between two types of bhāvas, i.e. the one expressed by a tiṅanta (verb) and a kṛdanta (noun) - the kṛdabhihitabhāva is like dravya, it gets connection with a verb or in otherwords, it becomes a sādhana (kāraka) - pāko vartate. On the other hand, a kriyā does not get connection with a kriyā - pacati, paṭhati (the siddhānta is that kṛdanta expresses siddha whereas tiṅanta expresses sādhya and sattva and dravya are synonyms of siddha), tiṅabhihitabhāva will have kāla, puruṣa and upagrahas and kṛdabhihitabhāva does not have these things, tiṅantavācya would certainly have kartrākāṅkṣā and kṛdantavācya as well as kṛdantavācyabhāva only would have liṅga and samkhyā and not the other.

Hari (41) explained these lines in Vākyapadīya. He (42) also adds that in words like pāka, the dhātu (pac) expresses sādhya and ghañ (pratyaya) expresses the siddha. The same is the case with la-kṛtya-kta-khalartha-avyayakṛt - rūḍhi - niṣṭhā - ghañ etc.

Karmavyatihāre ṇac striyām (3-3-43): Karmavyatihāra is mutual activity - vyāvakrośa, añ - a Taddhita by ṇacaḥ striyāmañ (5-4-14) and ṅīp in strīliṅga by ṭiḍḍhāṇañdvayasajdaghnañmātractayapṭhakṭhañkañkvarapaḥ (4-1-15) - vyāvakrośī - the activity where people blame each other, vyāvahāsī - the activity where people make merry in a mutual fashion. The aijāgama is checked by na karmavyatihāre (7-3-6).

Ikśtipau dhātunirdeśe (vārtikam under (3-3-108): If a dhātu has to be mentioned it can be ik or śtip - paciḥ / pacatiḥ.

Varṇātkāraḥ (ibid): In order to mention a varṇa (letter) kāra-pratyaya is used - akāraḥ, kakāraḥ etc.

Rādiphaḥ (ibid): Ra - varṇa would get ipha, not kāra - rephaḥ.

Matvarṭhācchaḥ (ibid): Matvarthiyaḥ - is used in Vyākaraṇa.

Vibhāṣākhyānaparipraśnayoriñca (3-3-110): In (the sense of) answer and question iñ-pratyaya also comes as vibhāṣā. As a result there will be five fomrs of the same dhātu in the same sense - kāriḥ - iñ, kārikā - ṇvul due to cakāra in this Sūtra (ṇvultṛcau, 3-1-133), kriyā - śa by kṛñaḥ śa ca, 3-3-100, kṛtyā - kyap due to cakāra in 3-3-100, kṛtiḥ - ktin by striyām ktin , 3-3-94. Similarly paciḥ - pācikā - pacā - paktiḥ etc.

TADDHITAVṚTTIḤ

Taddhitāḥ (4-1-76) is an Adhikārasūtra that gives the name Taddhita to hundreds of Pratyayas which are instituted on Subantas. The plural number (unlike kṛdatiṅ 3-1-93 which is in singular number) in the above Sūtra suggests that there can be some Taddhitas which are not said in Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Taddhitamūḍho vaiyākaraṇaḥ! taddhitamūḍho'vaiyākaraṇaḥ - is a saying which is popularly used by grammarians to suggest that the knowledge of Taddhitas is essential to be called a Vaiyākaraṇa (grammarian). The first sentence (in verbal usage there is only one sentence) means that one who is burdened (taddhitam + ūḍhaḥ) is fit to be called a Vaiyākaraṇa. The latter one implies that one who is ignorant of Taddhitas (taddhita + mūḍhaḥ) is a non-vaiyākaraṇa.

Patañjali (1) in Paspaśā comments that the southerners (like Kātyāyana) are fond of Taddhitas.

Pāṇini wanted the name Taddhita for a couple of Strīpratyayas and therefore read this sūtra in Strīpratyayaprakaraṇa. Since Taddhitapratyayas are meant to prepare padas (words) the Paribhāṣā, samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ (2-1-1) applies here. When there is Ekārthībhāva, then there will be Vṛtti and in its absence Vākya will be there - aupagavaḥ / upagoḥ apatyam.

After effecting a Taddhitapratyaya, the stem, like aupagava would become a Prātipadika and consequently gets sup in order to become a Subanta as per the Sūtra - kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca (1-2-46).

Taddhitavṛtti is started with samarthānām prathamādvā (4-1-82) by Pāṇini. While discussing the utility of each word in the above Sūtra, Patañjali, quoting Kātyāyana, suggests that the Sūtra (as well as samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ 2-1-1) is not required - vyākaraṇaśāstra is an instrument which analyses (thru grammatical applications) the Śabdas that are already used in Veda (2) and Loka. A Śabda which is samartha (capable) in rendering the meaning only

is taken up for analysis. Therefore the term samarthānām (3) (and samarthaḥ) is not necessary. If a Pratyaya is generated on a non-prathama that won't be capable to render the meaning. So the term prathamāt is not required. Vā says Vṛtti is optional. In fact, both Vṛtti and Vākya will be there in usage. Neither is going to replace the other. In such a case vā is not required.

Avivakṣa in Taddhitas: *Tasyāpatyam (4-1-92) is a Sūtra which says that aṇ, iñ etc. pratyayas will be there in the sense - his progeny. This is called arthanirdeśa (instructing the meaning) and this Sūtra goes into other Sūtras like - ata iñ (4-1-95) as anuvṛtti - the son of Daśaratha is called Dāśarathi (daśarathasya apatyam pumān - is the vigraha). Since tasya is preferably in pumliṅga, the pratyaya instituted by the above Sūtra on sumātā etc. cannot be effected. Similarly if the progeny is in plural this Sūtra cannot be effected. Rather since in some liṅga or the other and in some vacana or the other the instruction should be given, Pumliṅga and Ekavacana are prefered. As such they are not to be taken as expressed - which is technically called atantra or avivakṣita (4).*

In fact, in many places across Vyākaraṇaśāstra, the Samkhyā and Liṅga are not expressed. In case of Samkhyā there are exceptions like supsupā (5) (only one subanta will get Samāsa with one subanta).

Gotra-yuva-samjñas (6) and kinship terms: *The treatment of kinship terms in Taddhitas is very interesting to note. From the third generation (pautra) onwards progeny would get the name gotram (vṛddha is the corresponding name of pre-Pāṇinian grammarians). Rather, if any one of the persons related to the clan, like father, etc. is alive then the generation after pautra (i.e. fourth one etc.) would get the name yuva . Similarly, if the elder brother (7) is alive (in case the father etc. are dead), the younger ones starting with the fourth one would get the name yuva . On the other hand, if another sapiṇḍa (including self upto seven generations on both sides, i.e. father and mother, the term sapiṇḍa applies) of the brother, who is better / elder in terms of place and age (sthaviratare) is alive, then the progeny starting with pautra, if alive, would get the name yuva optionally.*

The tarap in sthaviratara suggests that if a person more respectable and elder in age, like father's brother (pitṛvya), mother's father (mātāmaha), and brother (of pitṛvya or mātāmaha) is alive. Ex. the progeny of gārgya can be gārgyāyaṇa or gārgya (gārgyasyāpatyam gārgyāyaṇaḥ gārgyo vā). If the conditions are not met then there will be only gotrasamjñā and as a result, only one term, i.e. gārgya, will be there.

Regulations: *If one goes by the above said procedure then there will be ninety nine pratyayas in case one wants to mention, the one hundredth man. In order to avoid such a situation Pāṇini said eko gotre (8) - there will be only one pratyaya in gotra. Another similar Sūtra, i.e. gotrādyūnyastriyām says that if one wants to effect a pratyaya in yuvāpatya it should be on a gotrapratyayānta (i.e. only one gotrapratyaya will be there in case of female) - gargasyāpatyam strī gārgī.*

Gotram: *The term gotram is used by Pāṇini in many Sūtras. There is one gotra that is popular with people (pravarādhyāya-prasiddha) and the other (is the one said above) that is there in Apatyādhikāraprakaraṇa (i.e. technical). Patañjali under yūni luk (4-1-77), strīpumsābhyām nañsnañau bhavanāt (4-1-87) etc. ruled that outside the Apatyādhikāra the gotra refered to by people or the so called pravarādhyāyaprasiddhagotra has to be taken. This is much useful in the interpretation of Sūtras like yaskādibhyo gotre (2-4-63).*

Kānīna: *The son of a virgin is called kānīna - kanyāyāḥ kanīna ca (4-1-116). Patañjali (9) in this context had a beautiful discussion - the Sūtra seems to be inappropriate as a kanyā cannot have progeny and one who has progeny cannot be a kanyā. Therefore, kanyā and apatyam are incompatible. Then he clarifies that simply by having a physical relation with a man, kanyā does not forfeit kanyātva (virginity), rather it is possible if she is married thru vedic rituals. Thus if a kanyā gives birth to a child, before she underwent the marriage as per scriptures, then the child is called kānīna (male), ex. Vyāsa and Karṇa (of Mahābhārata fame).*

Tadrājasamjñā: *Tadrāja (10) is a name given to five pratyayas, viz. añ, aṇ, ñyaṅ, ṇya and iñ, instituted by six Sūtras. What is the speciality of Tadrājasamjñā? - the pratyaya would get luk (11) (disappearence) in plural number (this is not applicable to plural in feminine). Therefore, the declension will be like - pāñcālaḥ pāñcālau pañcālāḥ (otherwise the last paradigm should have been pāñcālāḥ).*

Tadadhīte tadveda (4-2-59): *One who studies it or knows it in both the senses aṇ-pratyaya would be applied. One who studies Vyākaraṇa or one who knows Vyākaraṇa is called Vaiyākaraṇa. Nyāya - Naiyāyikaḥ etc. Here under this Sūtra, Patañjali (12) rakes up a point - a person who studies, knows it too and vice versa, then why to say adhīte veda , either will do? He further clarifies that a person who studies (or recites) need not necessarily know it, he simply recites and one who knows need not certainly recite it. Therefore Ācārya mentioned both.*

Cāturarthikas: *A different style of Pāṇini - he read out four Sūtras (13) and in any one of these senses aṇ etc. pratyayas would be applied. Hence these pratyayas are called Cāturarthikas. If the sense - this is there in this country - is expressed and the word would be the name of a country, it is performed / built etc. by him, it is his abode and it is nearby - these are the four senses in which aṇ-pratyaya has to be applied.*

Ex:- *udumbaras (a kind of tree-Ficus Glomerata) are there in this country and hence the country is called Audumbara, Kuśāmba built the city and therefore, Kauśāmbī, śibis (people who desceded from the famous Emperor Śibi) are living in this country, therefore the name of the country is Śaiba, the city, which is there in the vicinity of river Vidiśā is Vaidiśam. Sometimes the pratyaya is not seen (it disappears), especially in the case of Janapada (14) (an empire) - pañcālas are living here and the name of the country is Pañcālāḥ, kurus are living here and the name of the country is Kuravaḥ. Pāṇini, while injucting lup to Cāturarthika in case of Janapada, ruled that the liṅga and vacana of the paradigm would be like that of the prakṛti (15).*

Tiṅanta: *Ṭhak-pratyaya is instituted thru Sūtras like - tena dīvyati khanati jayati jitam (4-4-2) - if one is either playing / winning with dice is called ākṣikaḥ (akṣaiḥ dīvyati / jayati), something that is won thru dice is called ākṣikam (akṣaiḥ jitam), one who is digging with a crowbar is called kauddālikaḥ (kuddalena khanati kauddālikaḥ).*

The peculiarity is that Pāṇini expresses the sense, in which a pratyaya has to be effected, either thru Subantas or Tiṅantas.

One who is living with salary etc. is called vaitanikaḥ (vetanādibhyo jīvati 4-4-12, ṭhak). One who is living with a weapon is called āyudhīyaḥ or āyudhikaḥ (āyudhāccha ca 4-4-14, ṭhan.).

One who has got the knowledge of prakṛti and pratyaya (of Śabdas) is called śābdikaḥ (śabdam karoti śābdikaḥ - śabdadarduram karoti, 4-4-34).

Pakṣimatsyamṛgān hanti (4-4-35): *Kātyāyana says that in this Sūtrta the form, synonyms and other kinds are to be taken (svarūpasya paryāyāṇām viśeṣāṇām ca grahaṇam - 523). Only mīna among the synonyms of matsya has to be taken. Ṭhakpratyaya is being instituted. One who is killing birds is pākṣikaḥ (pakṣiṇo hanti), śakuna-śākunikaḥ, mayūra-māyūrikaḥ, matsya-mātsyikaḥ, mīna-mainikaḥ, mṛga-mārgikaḥ, sāraṅga - sāraṅgikaḥ.*

Paripantham ca tiṣṭhati (4-4-36): *A dacoit who is around the (high) way - may be just away from the road or in the vicinity of the road, or a dacoit who kills around the road is pāripanthikaḥ, ṭhkpratyaya.*

Dharmam carati (4-4-41): *One who is following dharma is dhārmika (ṭhak), Adhārmika is in negative. Kātyāyana reads an amendment - adharmācceti vaktavyam (2966), therefore one who is following adharma can be called ādharmika (as well).*

Asti nāsti diṣṭam matiḥ (4-4-60): *This is a Sūtra which institutes a Taddhita (ṭhak) on verbs (tiṅantas). One who believes that another world is there-is called āstikaḥ, one who does not believe in the existence of the same is called nāstikaḥ, one who attributes everything to destiny is called daiṣṭikaḥ.*

Chatrādibhyo ṇaḥ (4-4-62): *Chatram means an umbrella. Patañjali (16) here says that there is uttarapadalopa - i.e. chatramiva chatram. A guru has to protect the śiṣya like a chatra and a śiṣya, like a chatra, has to conceal the faults of his guru, i.e. the secondary meaning, depending on the usage, has to be taken - chātraḥ. The primary meaning of chātra is one holding an umbrella .*

Vivakṣā: *Tadasya tadasmin syāditi (5-1-16) is a Sūtra where Pāṇini clearly says that if such and such a meaning is expressed by śiṣṭaloka, i.e. if such a usage is popular among śiṣṭas, then cha-pratyaya would come in two senses - this will do for that or that can be done within this - these bricks are sufficient for the boundary - prākārīyā iṣṭakāḥ, this wood is sufficient for this building - prāsādīyam dāru, this space is sufficient to build the boundary - prākārīyaḥ deśaḥ. The iti-śabda in the Sūtra sugests that there should be laukikī vivakṣā in both the cases, i.e. if one says prāsādo devadattasya syāt (this building may belong to Devadatta) the above said meaning(s) is not conevyed. Here Patañjali (17) elaborates the concept of vivakṣā - it is of two types - prāyoktrī and laukikī. In the former, some people for comfort, i.e. to avoid tongue-twisting etc., use Śabdas (rather apaśabdas) in a smooth and sensitive manner (using the tongue in such a way), whereas laukikī vivakṣā is that where people do really understand thru right usage, the message that is intended.*

Aikāgārikaṭ core (5-1-116): *A thief who aims at (prayojanam) a secluded (helpless) house is called aikāgārikaḥ. This is a nipāta - ekāgāra + ikaṭ, the ṭakāra is for ṅīp in strīliṅga (tiḍḍhāṇañdvayasajdaghnañmātractayapṭhakṭhañkañkvarapaḥ 4-1-15) - such a female thief is aikāgārikī.*

Vati: *There are four Sūtras for instituting vati (like) - tena tulyam kriyā cedvatiḥ, tatra tasyeva, tadarham and upasargācchandasi dhātvarthe (5-1-115 to 118). The first three deal with laukikaśabdas and the last one is for vaidikaśabdas. The first Sūtra says that if one is doing / performing some activity like another (who is naturally expected to do) then there will be vati-pratyaya on tṛtīyānta - kṣatriya is reciting (Veda) like a brāhmaṇa (brāhmaṇena tulyam adhīte kṣatriyaḥ) then the usage will be brāhmaṇavadadhīte kṣatriyaḥ (compare with brāhmaṇa iva adhīte kṣatriyah, brāhmaṇena tulyam adhīte kṣatriyaḥ). The Sūtra is exclusively for kriyā. Therefore, if either guṇa or dravya is referred to there won't be the pratyaya - putreṇa tulyaḥ sthūlaḥ (he is stout on a par with his son), caitreṇa tulyam dhanī maitraḥ (Maitra is wealthy on a par with Caitra).*

The second Sūtra says that if there is something (in / of a place / person etc.) like the one in / of another place / person etc. then vati will take palce. The boundaries in Srughna are like the ones in Mathurā so mathurāvat srughne prākārāḥ (mathurāyāmiva mathurāvat srughne prākārāḥ), Caitrasyeva Caitravat maitrasya-bhāvaḥ (the thinking / feeling of Maitra is like that of Caitra). So this Sūtra is for guṇa and dravya.

The third Sūtra deals with examples where one is doing something (kriyā) that fits him - vidhimarhati (he is fit to be treated as per the scriptures) vidhivat pūjyate. The word kriyā from 5-1-115 would jump into this Sūtra (maṇḍūkapluti / frog-leap).

The last Sūtra, as is evident, deals with vedic usages where vati , in svārtha - yadudvato nivataḥ (udgatāt, nirgatāt).

Hari (18), while discussing the third Sūtra, i.e. tadarham, opines that in other Vyākaraṇas like Āpiśala and Kāśakṛtsna, such a Sūtra is not there. The discussion of Patañjali, under this Sūtra did not say anything against the absence of such a Sūtra in other Vyākaraṇas. Therefore, following the norm, apratiṣiddham anumatam bhavati (it is accepted which is not refuted), it can be deduced that tadarham is not required as thru creating bheda in the examples covered by this Sūtra, upamānopameyabhāva is possible and then the earlier Sūtra would take care of these examples as well. Rather, finally Hari (19) asserts that this is not the case - the sense tadarham can never be included in tena tulyam or tatra tasyeva . There is no vivakṣā of upamānopameyabhāva here. Therefore, Pāṇini was observing the phenomenon keenly and since it was not covered / dealt with by earlier Vyākaraṇas he made a Sūtra which is essential and this is the meaning of Patañjali's silence on the question of refutation of this Sūtra.

Tasya bhāvastvatalau (5-1-119): *The term bhāva is the indicator of jāti or sāmānyam. Hari (20) in Vākyapadīya clarifies that pratyayas like tva, tal, imanic, yat etc. express jāti which is eternal (nitya) and the so called sattā or ātmā or mahān (according to Sāṃkhya) and the same is described as prātipadikārtha and dhātvartha in Pāṇinīyavyākaraṇa. Therfore, since all Śabdas express jāti, the bhāvapratyaya can be added as per the usage. Jāti is the unique quality/property within, that separates one thing from the rest of the things in the universe. In Vyākaraṇa, Guṇa is used as a synonym to Jāti (see Kātyāyana in the present Sūtra and Patañjali under samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ 2-1-1).*

There are two liṅgānuśāsanasūtras - tvāntam klībam, talantam striyām- gotvam/gotā. The word ending in tva will be in neuter gender and the one ending in tal will be in feminine gender.

Sāptapadīnam sakhyam (5-2-22): *Friendship is attained thru (speaking) seven words or thru (walking) seven feet. Kha-pratyaya is being instituted and the ready-made word or nipāta is offered by Pāṇini (sakhyam sāptapadīnam syāt - Manusmṛti and manīṣibhissāptapadīnamucyate - Kālidāsa in Kumārasambhava).*

Itac: *This is a pratyaya popularly seen across literature. Tadasya saṃjātamiti tārakādibhya itac (5-2-36) is the Sūtra which says that this has got it - in this sense tārakā etc. words would get itac-pratyaya. Cakāra in the pratyaya is useful for getting antodāttasvara (Citaḥ 6-1-163). The nabhas (sky) has got tārakas (stars) - tārakitam, puspa-puspitam, phala-phalitam, paṇḍā (buddhi) - paṇḍitaḥ.*

Goṣṭham - gogoṣṭham: *Go + sthā + ka (ghañarthe kavidhānam) = goṣṭham - the place where cows stay (pen). This is a kṛtpratyayānta. Subsequently due to comparison (upamāna) the place where birds stay is called avigoṣṭham and so on. Before compiling his Vārtika (upamānādvā siddham) to this efect, Kātyāyana (under samprodaśca kaṭac, 5-2-29) offered a Vārtika - i.e. goṣṭhādayaḥ sthānādiṣu paśunāmabhyaḥ, which says goṣṭha- pratyaya in the sense of place should be instituted on words denoting animals etc. Then the pen of cows has to be called gogoṣṭham and there will be avigoṣṭham, uṣṭragoṣṭham (stable of camels) etc.*

Similarly tailam is a taddhitānta - tilānām vikāraḥ - aṇ pratyaya by tasya vikāraḥ 4-3-134, in the sense a changed form of sesame - i.e. sesame-oil. Rather this Śabda is popular in the sense of oil, i.e. any oil and therefore for sesame-oil it would be tilatailam.

In case the tailac-pratyaya is accepted, the popular word tailam is not covered. Same is the case with goṣṭhac-pratyaya, i.e. the popular word goṣṭham (pen) is affected. Therefore upamānādvā siddham (21) stands. The earlier Vārtika was, probably, to register the opinions of other Vaiyākaraṇas (Gauḍas?).

Śītaka / uṣṇaka: *Both the words, śīta and uṣṇa, are used in secondary sense or lakṣyārtha - one who does the job to be completed quickly, in a slow manner is called śītaka, the one who does the same job quickly is called uṣṇaka. The term kāriṇi in the Sūtra denotes the sense - one with such a nature (ṇini-pratyaya is tacchīla) - śītoṣṇābhyām kāriṇi (5-2-72). Patañjali explains - uttarapadalopo'tra draṣṭavyaḥ, śītamiva śītam, uṣṇamiva uṣṇam.*

Adhikam (5-2-73): *This is a nipāta. Adhyārūḍha, kan, uttarapadalopa - adhikam (more).*

Pārśvakaḥ: *The word pārśva is in the sense of pretext. Patañjali explains - pārśvamiva pārśvam, uttarapadalopo'tra draṣṭvyaḥ, yaḥ ṛjunopāyena anveṣṭavyānarthān anṛjunopāyena anvicchati sa ucyate - pārśvaka iti (one who wants to investigate things thru pretexts rather than reasons is called pārśvaka.*

Āyaśśūlikaḥ: *The word ayaśśūla (iron dart) denotes hard means. One who wants to probe things (to be probed thru easy means) thru hard means is called āyaśśūlikaḥ - ayaśśūladaṇḍābhyām ṭhakṭhañau 5-2-76 (22).*

Śrotriyaḥ: *This is a nipāta. A word śrotriyaḥ is read in the sense of a sentence - one who recites chandas (Veda) -śrotriyamśchando'dhīte 5-2-84 - chandas + ghan - śrotra + ghan = śrotriyaḥ, there will be aṇ (tadadhīte tadveda 4-2-59) optional - chāndasaḥ.*

Sākṣī: *One who witnesses the transaction / incident is called sākshī - a nipāta by sākṣāddraṣṭari samjñāyām 5-2-91. There will be three people - one who gives, one who receives and the one who witnesses. The third person is called sākṣī and he is naturally not involved in the transaction - sākṣāt is an avyaya, upon that ini is the pratyaya (avyayānām bhamātre ṭilopaḥ). Patañjali (23) clarifies that samjñāyām is needed because all the three persons naturally witness the event and without that term (in case sākṣāt draṣṭari is the Sūtra) all the three would become sākṣīs.*

Kṣetriyaḥ: *This is a nipāta (often seen in Atharvaveda) - kṣetriyac parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ 5-2-92. This is on a par with srotriyamschando'dhīte (5-2-84) says Kātyāyana (24), i.e. in the sense of a sentence - this disease has to be treated in a different body (i.e. incurable) the word kṣetriyaḥ is prescribed. Kṣetra means body. The cakāra at the end is for antodāttasvara. Kātyāyana also comments that it can be paralopa (disappearance of the word para) and ghac-pratyaya in the sense to be treated there - parakṣetra - kṣetra + ghac - kṣetriyaḥ.*

Matup: *In the senses - that is there to this and in this , matup-pratyaya is instituted by Pāṇini - tadasyāstyasminniti matup 5-2-94. Here asti in the Sūtra is important, i.e. Pāṇini wants to convey that the thing should be possessed by one (place, person etc.) presently and the pratyaya cannot be applied in past and future tenses. A person has got cows at present is called gomān. Similarly a place / country where there are cows at present is called gomān. If the person or place had cows earlier or will be having the same in future cannot be refered to as gomān - gāvaḥ santyasya asminvā gomān devadattaḥ deśovā gāvo'sya āsan, gāvo sya bhavitāraḥ iti vākyameva. Patañjali (25) had a beautiful discussion (Hari (26) summarised the same) in this context - why asti? in order to convey existence, this is not the purpose, existence is concomitant with every thing , then this is the purpose - in present existence only pratyaya will take place, in past & future existence no pratyaya, cows were there to him, cows will be there to him. The present existence is called sampratisattā or bāhyasattā.*

The Vārtika of Kātyāyana that asti a verb conveying existence has to be added to a sentence without a verb (astirbhavantīparaḥ aprayujyamāno pyasti) has to be read in this context.

In usages like gāvo'sya santyanantarāḥ, gāvo'sya santi samīpe there won't be the pratyaya as the word gāvaḥ has got the apekṣā with anantarāḥ and samīpa and thus it became asamartha (sāpekṣamasamartham bhavati 2-1-1).

A matubanta cannot have another matup - one who has got cows is gomān. A country which has got many a gomān (gomamtaḥ santi asmin deśe) - in such a situation, Patañjali (27) clarifies, there cannot be another matup as the sense is already expressed, i.e. a deśa which has got many a gomān has also got many a cow, therefore gomān deśaḥ itself will do.

Kātyāyana offered an amendement to this Sūtra saying that simple ownership of something should not entitle one to receive the pratyaya as there will be ativyāpti in cases like vrīhirasya (this person has got paddy) yavo'sya (this person has got yavas).

He (28) rather enumerated the specific senses in which pratyayas starting with matup are to be applied -

1. *bhūmni (in abundance) - gomān, yavamān*
2. *nindāyām (in cursing) - kakudāvartī, samkhādakī*
3. *praśamsāyām (in praising) - rūpavān, varṇavān*
4. *nityayoga (eternal association) - kṣīriṇo vṛkṣāḥ, kantakino vṛkṣāḥ*
5. *atiśāyane (having too much) - udariṇī kanyā*
6. *samsarga (in having) - daṇḍī, chatrī*

Kātyāyana (29) himself says (uktam vā) that the above Vārtika is not required as it is already implied by Pāṇinisūtra. Comments Patañjali (30) that when the word iti is used in the Sūtra (like tadasya tadasmin syāditi 5-1-16) it suggests that if there is vivakṣā (if such a word denotes such a meaning in the common parlance), therefore if there is vivakṣā of bhūma etc. then only the pratyaya would come.

Rather in another Vārtika (sanmātre carṣidarśanāt), Kātyāyana says that in simple existence there is usage of matup in Veda - yavamatībhiradbhiḥ yūpam prokṣati. Further the matup would disappear on words denoting guṇa (quality etc.) says Kātyāyana - a thing which is white is - śuklaḥ (vāsaḥ-cloth), a sari - śuklā (śāṭī), a cloth - śuklam (vastram), similarly kṛṣṇaḥ, nīlaḥ, other numbers also - śuklau, suklāḥ. The last Vārtika, tathā ca liṅgavacanasiddhiḥ, is about liṅga and vacana. This is the origin of the statement of Amarasimha in Amarakośa - guṇe śuklādayaḥ pumsi guṇiliṅgāstu tadvati.

__Ālu & elu:__ Kātyāyana (31) under bahulam chandasi 5-2-122 offers Vārtikas in the sense - one cannot endure - one who cannot endure cold is called - śītāluḥ, uṣṇa (heat) uṣṇāluḥ, trupra (puroḍāśa; misery - according to Mādhava) - trupräluḥ - ālu is the pratyaya- hima + elu - himeluḥ, bala + ūla - balūlaḥ, but on vātaśabda in both the senses - one cannot endure and a mass of wind (gale) - there will be ūla-pratyaya - vātūlaḥ.

__Vāgmī-vācālaḥ / vācāṭaḥ:__ Vāco gminiḥ, ālajāṭajau bahubhāṣiṇi (5-2-124, 125) are the Sūtras. Patañjali (32) (rather than Kātyāyana as is stated in Kaumudī) clarifies that one who speaks too much but good and useful is called vāgmī and one who speaks too much that is wind is called vācālaḥ / vācāṭaḥ. Since Pāṇini made two Sūtras instead of one, the style (technically called sāmarthya) implies that bahubhāṣiṇi is applicable to earlier Sūtra also and as a result one need not amend the latter Sūtra by kutsita iti vaktavyam (in the sense of speaking too much but useless).

__Prāgdiśo vibhaktiḥ (5-3-1):__ The Taddhita-pratyayas under this Adhikāra are given an additional samjñā-vibhakti. There are three benefits for this samjñā - the itsamjñā is arrested thru na vibhaktau tusmāḥ (1-3-4), atva thru tyadādīnāmaḥ (7-2-102) and udāttasvara (to idam thru sāvekācastṛtīyādirvibhaktiḥ (6-1-168).

And since no specific sense is mentioned by Pāṇini, these pratyayas are called Svārthikas, i.e. the pratyayas express the meaning of prakṛti only. Therefore, both the terms , samarthānām and prathamāt won't apply to these pratyayas. Vā would continue.

__Adhunā (5-3-17):__ In the sense asmin kāle (now / at present) idam-śabda (saptamyanta) would get adhunā-pratyaya - idam + adhunā (idama iś 5-3-3) i + adhunā (yasyeti ca 6-4-148) - adhunā. Bhāṣyakāra (33) explains that it can be either a - ādesa to idam and dhunā is the pratyaya or lopa to idam and adhunā is the pratyaya. When vatup is applied on idam (kimidambhyām vo ghaḥ 5-2-40) then also the same would be the situation - idam + vatup, idam - iyat (idamkimorīśkī 6-3-90) ī + iyat (yasyeti ca 6-4-148) iyat (num etc.) iyān.

__Atiśāyane tamabiṣṭhanau (5-3-55):__ In the sense qualitatively the best or in expressing superlative degree, tamap and iṣṭhan are instituted on Subantas. Since there cannot be any degree of comparison in terms of Dravya, and Jāti, Patañjali (34) concluded, after a prolonged discussion, that these pratyayas denote degree of Guṇa and therefore on Prātipadikas (i.e. Subantas) denoting Guṇa only the pratyayas are to be added. Nāgeśa (35) under ākaḍārādekā samjñā says that the Śabdas other than jāti - samjñā - avyaya - kṛdanta - taddhitānta - samasta - sarvanāma - samkhyā - śabdas are to be taken as guṇavacana .

Hari in Guṇasamuddeśa of Padakāṇḍa defined guṇa in order to avoid confusion between the guṇas enumerated by Naiyāyikas and popular in common parlance vis-a-vis the guṇa intended in certain Pāṇinīyasūtras - having connected with the resort, able to separate the resort from other things, due to its resorting to other things identified as paratantra (guṇānām ca parārthatvāt - Jaimini) - such a padārtha is called guṇa in Vyākaraṇa (36). Śukla (white), kṛṣṇa (black) can be seen with the resort, ghaṭa, paṭa etc. only, they cannot be perceived separately. They separate their resort from other things - a white vessel is differing from a black vessel due to its guṇa (colour). There is ghaṭatva in a ghaṭa and it is referred to as guṇa (as well as jāti) by Vaiyākaraṇas (see Vārtika, yasya guṇasya bhāvāt dravye śabdaniveśaḥ, under tasyabhāvastvatalau 5-1-119). And Naiyāyikas take it as jāti and not as guṇa. Under samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ (2-1-1)

Patañjali also says vīratvam guṇaḥ, puruṣatvam guṇaḥ. Rather the guṇa that is acceptable to Naiyāyikas and popular in common parlance has to be taken in certain Sūtras and Vārtikas - voto guṇavacanāt 4-1-44, saṃkhyāyāḥ guṇasya nimāne mayaṭ 5-2-47, tṛtīyā tatkṛtārthena guṇavacanena 2-1-30, prakāre guṇavacanasya 8-1-12, pūraṇaguṇasuhitārthasadavyayatavyasamānādhikaraṇena 2-2-11, īṣadguṇavacanena 2-2-7, ajādī guṇavacanādeva 5-3-58 and guṇavacanebhyo matupo luk, vārtika under 5-2-94.

Hari (37) asserts that, keeping aside jāti, guṇa, kriyā etc. upādhis, it is not possible to exhibit pure dravya . Therefore the guṇa which is used as a dividing factor is also taken up for measuring degrees of comparison. In Brahmakāṇḍa (38) (also) he says that although the guṇa (śukla etc.) is referred to (śuklataram rūpam etc.) it indirectly refers to the dravya with which it is associated - i.e. the pure dravya cannot be expressed by a Śabda.

Ex: āḍhya - āḍhyatamaḥ, laghu-laghiṣṭhaḥ

Tiṅaśca (5-3-56): *Tamap-pratyaya is added on tiṅanta in the sense of excellence - pacatitamām (ām by kimettiṅavyayaghādāmva-dravyaprakarṣe 5-4-11). āyasun does not apply here following the regulation - ajādī guṇavacanādeva 5-3-58.*

Patañjali (39) under aṣaḍakṣāśitaṅgvalaṃkarmālampuruṣā-dhyuttarapadātkhaḥ 5-4-7 says that tamap etc. are nityapratyayas.

Kātyāyana (40) observed that the pratyaya is seen in svārtha in Veda - devo vaḥ savita prārpayatu śreṣṭhatamāya karmaṇe. Here, in the word śreṣṭhatamāya, iṣṭhaṅ is the first pratyaya in the sense of excellence and another pratyaya in the same sense cannot be added.

Dvivacanavibhajyopapade tarabīyasunau (5-3-57): *Both the pratyayas would be added to Subantas and only tarap on Tiṅantas in the sense of comparison between two - laghu - laghutaraḥ (this one is smaller) / laghīyān, pacati - pacatitarām (this one cooks better).*

In examples like alpāctaram 2-2-34 and lopaśca balavattaraḥ (Kātyāyana under hayavaraṭ) the tarap is atyantasvārthika. This is deduced from the fact that instead of pitau ghaḥ or tādī ghaḥ, Pāṇini read it taraptamapau ghaḥ (1-1-22). His style insinuates the fact.

Praśaṃsāyām rūpap (5-3-66): This is also a pratyaya which is added to both Subantas and Tiṅantas in the sense of admiration - praśastaḥ paṭuḥ paṭurūpaḥ, praśastam pacati pacatirūpam.

Bahuc: *All the pratyayas are added as suffixes (pratyayaḥ, paraśca 3-1-1 & 2) but bahuc is the only pratyaya that is prefixed - vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāttu 5-3-68. Bahuc is instituted in the sense - īṣadasamāptau (just less) - bahupaṭuḥ. The tu in the Sūtra denotes that the pratyaya comes as a prefix only.*

Kutsite (5-3-74): *In the sense of wicked, ka-pratyaya is added (prāgivātkaḥ 5-3-70) - a wicked aśva is called aśvakaḥ. Raising an objection that when kutsita itself is the prātipadika then, since the sense wicked (kutsita) is already expressed, there cannot be the pratyaya - how come kutsitakaḥ, anukampitakaḥ etc., Patañjali (41) asserts that each Śabda expresses five meanings - jāti, dravya, liṅga, vacana and vibhakti. This is what is refered to by later Vaiyākaraṇas as pañcakam prātipadikārthaḥ .*

Ḍatarac / Ḍatamac: *Both these pratyayas are instituted on kim, yat and tat while separating one from two and many respectively - anayoḥ kataro devadattaḥ? (who is Devadatta between these two?), bhavatām katamo devadattaḥ? (who is Devadatta among you people?)*

Both Kātyāyana (42) and Patañjali opine that the upādhis (conditions) are not very much useful - dvayoḥ is not needed as ḍatarac is used when one is separated from many and katamaśabda is seen in ajātiparipraśna. Under pratyayaḥ (3-1-1) Patañjali s usage - bahuṣvāsīneṣu kaścit kaṃcit pṛcchati kataro devadattaḥ (where many people are sitting, one is enquiring another - who is Devadatta?) and his another usage - katamā esām āḍhyatamā (who among these ladies is wealthiest?) under prakāre guṇavacanasya (8-1-12) following Kātyāyana's Vārtika (43).

Avakṣepaṇe kan (5-3-95): *Ka-pratyaya was instituted thru kutsite (5-3-74). There will be difference in svara between kan and ka. Rather,*

avakṣepaṇa and kutsana are synonyms. Patañjali under the above Sūtra clarifies that where a thing is considered to be wicked due to the reasons within (svakutsārtham upādiyate) that is an example for ka-pratyaya - devadattakaḥ. Devadatta due to his bad conduct etc. is considered to be wicked and therefore is called devadattakaḥ. Whereas in the present context a thing, that is taken up for projecting some other thing as wicked, is the example - vyākaraṇakaḥ devadattaḥ. Here in this example Vyākaraṇa is good (not bad by itself). Rather Devadatta became proud due to the study of Vyākaraṇa.

Jīvikārthe cāpaṇye (5-3-99): Images, which are not for sale, but are used by Devalakas to carry on head and move from house to house to earn the livelyhood. In this sense the kan instituted by ive pratikṛtau (5-3-96) will get lup - vāsudeva + ka - vāsudevaḥ, śiva + ka - śivaḥ. Lup is for having the liṅga and vacana of the prakṛti (lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane 1-2-51).

Samāsācca tadviṣayāt (5-3-106): A very terse Sūtra. Kākatālīyaḥ (coreṇa caitrasya vadhaḥ) - is the example. There are two ivārthas (meanings of comparison) here - like the flying of crow and like the fall of the palm - fruit (when something happened incidentally - the thief had accidentally seen Caitra and killed - this is compared with another incident - a crow came flying under a palm-tree and just then a palm-fruit fell upon and killed it). Ajākṛpāṇīyam is another example. A goat has come under the tree while the sword has just slipped from the hands of the wood-cutter and killed the goat. Any such coincidence is compared with this (explained thru this usage).

Hari earmarked nine verses to explain the meaning of this Sūtra. First Patañjali's Bhāṣyam (44) - what is referred to by (the pronoun) tat ? (i.e. ivārtha is the context and cha-pratyaya as well, following sarvanāmnām pradhānaparāmarśitvāt both are equally pradhāna and hence the doubt), cha-pratyaya, how come Samāsa becomes subject of cha? then it is ivārtha, if Samāsa is in ivārtha and pratyaya as well, since the sense is already expressed by Samāsa the pratyaya won't come (i.e. following uktārthānāmaprayogaḥ - nothing to be used to express the already-expressed-meaning), then there are two

ivārthas , how? kākāgamanamiva tālapatanamiva kākatālam, kākatālamiva kākatālīyam (i.e. the Samāsa which is subject to ivārtha is the prakṛti and it would get cha-pratyaya in ivārtha)

Here is Hari (45) - since cha-pratyaya is (for the first time) being instituted it is not appropriate to say that the pratyaya would come on a Samāsa that is the subject (viṣaya means which is not seen elsewhere, i.e. the Samāsa connected forever with cha - vi + ṣiñ (bandhane) + ac - viṣayaḥ) of cha. In examples like kākatālīyam it is well-known that it is the present Sūtra that effects the Samāsa (i.e. since there is no any vidhisūtra which can effect Samāsa thru imposing sāmarthya in such a situation, the present Sūtra itself or pratyayavidhāna itself is a jñāpaka (sign) in deducing that such a Samāsa is possible, jñāpaka is prefered to supsupā . If it is argued that chaviṣaya means a Samāsa which is going to become the subject of cha in future would get cha-pratyaya - then it would be rendered unmeaningful.

Hari further clarifies that the condition if the Samāsa is the subject of cha is not feasible as it is not decided as to whether it is rājāśva etc. or another Samāsa that will be the subject of cha. Therefore before the chapratyaya is instituted, chapratyayaviṣaya cannot be there. The result is that although it is pradhāna (important as it is being instituted) chapratyaya cannot be the candidate that is being refered to by the pronoun tat in tadviṣayāt , rather although unimportant the ivārtha is the candidate.

Thus, explains Hari (46), it is suggested that both the ivārthas are the cause of the meaning of Samāsa and pratyaya - one ivārtha is connected with a word that is part of the Samāsa whereas the other is connected with chapratyaya.

In contrast, in examples like śastrī śyāmā (the girl is like a knife) the knife has already had the quality of śyāmatva (medium comlexion) and a lady, Devadattā is being compared with a knife which is of medium complexion. Here since nothing-else is being compared with the upameya, Devadattā, there is only one ivārtha.

Ivārtha in Samāsa: *There are two upameyas and two upamānas - Caitra s coming is like the coming of the crow, the thief s pouncing on Caitra is like the falling of palm-fruit on the crow. The samāna-dharma common property) is coincidence.*

Ivārtha by pratyaya: The different kriya (activity) like vadha (killing) etc. which is happening due to the collision of crow and palm-fruit, becomes upamāna and in the sense of upameya vis-a-vis the said upamāna the chapratyaya is being instituted. Therefore the upamānopameyabhāva that is there between both the activities is the meaning of chapratyaya (47).

Having explained both the ivārthas Hari addresses the question of sāmarthya - the coming of crow is the upamāna of the coming of Caitra and therefore kākāgamana is apradhāna (unimportant). The falling of palm-fruit is the upamāna of the coming of the thief. And there is no relation between kākaśabda and tālaśabda which are pradhāna and apradhāna, respectively. As such both these Śabdas are asamartha. Then how come the Samāsa takes place. Further when it is said that the chapratyayavidhi is the sign (jñāpaka) of Samāsa then also it is indicated in Bhāsya that supsupā is the vidhisūtra of Samāsa. Therefore, it is difficult to have a Samāsa out of two asamarthaśabdas. On the other hand, although the Samāsa is achieved somehow or the other, how two words which do not construe with each other express a unitery meaning? Then which is the prakṛtyartha that would be a viśeṣaṇa (qualifier) of pratyayārtha (viśeṣya)? - responds Hari (48) - dravyaśabda exists in the activity with which it is connected, in the present example the dravyaśabdas, i.e. kāka and tāla are there connected with pāta (falling) and āgamana (coming). Dravya is siddha and kriyā is sādhya. In examples like dadhyodanaḥ both are dravyas and hence there cannot be any connection between them. At the same time Samāsa cannot be effected between asamarthaśabdas (samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ 2-1-1). Therefore, in order to make a Samāsa possible a kriya like upaseka (soaking) is taken - the odanam (rice) that is soaked in dadhi (curd) is dadhyodana. Same is the case with kāka and tāla which denote āgamana and patana. Kākāgamana and tālapatana both are coincidental and are upamāna to each other. Thus both the Śabdas are construed due to parasparopamānopameyabhāva and pratyayārthaviseṣaṇatva is possible. Further, the comparison between both the above kriyas on the one side, the coming of Caitra and pouncing of the thief on the other becomes possible. Such a meaning is expressed by Samāsa. Caitra-vadha is upameya of kākavadha and the same is expressed by chapratyaya.

Why to resort to the secondary meaning (gauṇārtha) in case of kāka and tāla? Why not directly compare coincidental corakṛta-caitravadha with tālakṛtakākavadha? - Hari (49)clarifies that the sentence that expresses the meaning of Vṛtti is being created and the one that is popularly used is not similar to this. The purport is that kākatālīyam and ajākṛpāṇīyam are the words that are used in common parlance. The author of Vyākaraṇa ought to analyse these Śabdas. The words in prakriyāvākya or laukikavigrahavākya are construed thru anvākhyāna (analysis). Therefore, such a Vākya is created in accordance with anvākhyāna.The result is that Vṛtti is being advocated on samāsa-prakṛti when the combination of the two coincidences, i.e. that of kāka-tāla and Caitra-cora is ivārtha. Upamāna is kākatālasambandhaviśiṣṭa and upameya is vadha etc. Chapratyaya denotes upameya only. The prakṛti, kākatāla is chapratyayaviṣaya (tadviṣaya) eternally and therefore without chapratyaya the prakṛti would be rendered unfit for usage.

In the above verse (613) it is said that Vṛtti (50) is being advocated but in what sense? - kāka by tāla and Devadatta by cora are killed in a fashion that is surprising and in another upameya, which is similar to that, the chapratyaya is instituted, i.e. the activities should be similar - coincidental.

Vigrahapūrvikā taddhitotpattiḥ: Says Patañjali (51) under aṣaḍak-ṣāsitaṅgvalamkarmālampuruṣādhyuttarapadātkhaḥ (5-4-7). Every taddhitapratyaya has to be applied after exhibiting the vigraha. At the same time Patañjali clarifies that a nityapratyayānta does not have a vigraha. The observation is that Pāṇini leaves it to the commentators to decide as to which one is nityapratyaya inspite of the fact that in certain cases he clearly mentions - trermum nityam (4-4-20). Bhāṣyakāra enumerates the nityapratyayas among Taddhitas. Tamādayaḥ prākkanaḥ - is a general statement - comments Nāgeśa. Patañjali also says that there is Bahuvrīhi with asvapadavigraha - śobhanam mukham asyāḥ sumukhī iti. Dīkṣita

in Kaumudi declares that - avigraho'svapadavigraho vā nityasamāsaḥ.

Kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartari cviḥ (5-4-50): When something transforms into somethingelse and if followed by kṛ / bhū / asti then cvipratyaya is applied. Kātyāyana amended by abhūtatadbhāve and the same is thrown into the Sūtra by somebody - says Kaiyaṭa. Therefore the Kāśikā version is not authoritative.

Earlier he was not Kṛṣṇa but thru costumes etc. he is made (to look like) Kṛṣṇa, so kṛṣṇīkaroti, Grāmīkarotyājñayā in Swapnavāsavadatta. Asya cvau (7-4-32) effects i in place of a .

Vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye (5-4-52): The entire missile becomes fire - in this sense (in the sense of cvi only) sāti is being instituted - agnisādbhavati / agnībhavati (cvi) / kṛtsnam śastram agniḥ sampadyate (vākyam due to Mahāvibhāṣā).

Satyādaśapathe (5-4-66): When the salesman says / advertises that the thing(s) can be purchased for such and such a price and not more than that then it is remarked - satyākaroti. If somebody vows then the pratyaya - ḍāc would not come.

Samāsāntāḥ (5-4-68): Samāsāntapratyayas (there are some ādeśas also) are given the name Taddhita - nastaddhite (6-4-144, ṭilopa), gorataddhitaluki (5-4-92, ṭacniṣedha), laśakvataddhite (1-3-8, itsamjñāniṣedha in kap etc.) etc. are the purposes.

Here the word anta means the last part and it is clearly stated in Mahābhāṣya (52) under gostriyorupasarjanasya (1-2-48) and antaḥ (8-4-20). And the Mahābhāṣya under 1-2-48, i.e. tādarthyāt tācchabdyam, clearly indicates that the term Samāsa in samāsāntāḥ refers to (alaukika) vigrahavākya (thru lakṣaṇā). Nāgeśa (53) under the same Sūtra dwells at the cryptic meaning that is there in the words of Bhāṣyakāra and Kaiyaṭa. The conclusion is that simultaneously the Samāsāntapratyaya as well as the Samāsasamjñā are to be applied at the stage of alaukikavigrahavākya itself.

Exceptions: The Samāsāntas cannot be applied under certain conditions -

Na pūjanāt (5-4-69): If the Prātipadika is preceded by a Śabda that denotes respect there cannot be a Samāsānta - surājā, atirājā (ṭac does not apply - rājāhassakhibhyaḥ ṭac 5-4-91). This applies to su and ati only (svatibhyāmeva - Vārtikam 3346) - paramarājaḥ, and before bahuvrīhau sakthyakṣṇoḥ svāṅgātṣac 5-4-113) - susakthaḥ, svakṣaḥ.

Kimaḥ kṣepe (5-4-70): In the sense of cursing, a Prātipadika on kim does not receive samāsānta - kimrājā, kimsakhā (no ṭac).

Nañastatpuruṣāt (5-4-71): On Nañtatpuruṣa no Samāsānta - arājā, asakhā.

Patho vibhāṣā (5-4-72): On the word panthāḥ in Nañtatpuruṣa it is optional (a - pratyaya by ṛkpūrabdhūḥ pathāmānakṣe 5-4-74) - apatham - apanthāḥ.

There are eleven pratyayas:

1. *Bahuvrīhau samkhyeye ḍajabahugaṇāt (5-4-73): If the Bahuvrihi denotes a thing that refers to a number , on that ḍac applies - upadaśāḥ (around ten - i.e. nine or eleven).*
2. *Ṛkpūrabdhūḥpathāmānakṣe (5-4-74): A + ānakṣe. A - pratyaya on Samāsa ending in ṛk etc. except dhū in the sense of load of an axle - ardharcaḥ, viṣṇupuram, vimalāpam, rājadhurā, Ramyapathaḥ (deśaḥ).*
3. *Acpratyanvavapūrvāt sāmalomnaḥ (5-4-75): Samāsas like pratisāma, anuloma etc. would get ac -pratyaya - pratisāmam, pratilomam, anulomam.*

   Further brahmavarcasam (brahmahastibhyām varcasaḥ (5-4-78), śvaḥśreyasam (śvaso vasīyaḥ śreyasaḥ (5-4-80), dvistāvā, tristāvā (dvistāva tristāvā vediḥ 5-4-84) etc. are also covered under ac .
4. *Rājāhassakhibhyaḥ ṭac (5-4-91): The Tatpuruṣa ending in these words would get ṭac - paramarājam, uttamāhaḥ, kṛṣṇasakhaḥ,*

upaśaradam (avyayībhāve śaratprabhṛtibhyaḥ (5-4-107), uparājam, adhyātmam (anaśca 5-4-108) etc. are also covered.

5. *Bahuvrīhau sakthyakṣṇoḥ svāṅgāt ṣac (5-4-113): Where the words sakthi and akṣi denote the limb of a body, the Bahuvrīhi ending in these words would get ṣac. The difference between ac and ṣac is that the latter effects anantodātta. Dīrghasakthaḥ, jalajākṣī are examples. Ṇīṣ is the purpose for ṣakāra (ṣidgaurādibhyaśca 4-1-41).*

6. *Dvitribhyām ṣa mūrdhnaḥ (5-4-115): In Bahuvrīhi, mūrdhā preceded by dvi and tri would get ṣa - dvimūrdhaḥ, trimūrdhaḥ. If ṣac itself is applied here also then antodāttatva (by citaḥ 6-1-157) by cittva would affect totally the pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara (by dvitribhyām pāddanmūrdhasu bahuvrīhau 6-2-196), which is optional when samāsānta is not applied - dvimūrdhā. Rather in case of ṣa, since samāsāntāḥ (5-4-68) is anitya (not compulsory - contrast with Patañjali under aṣadakṣa 5-4-7, Samāsāntas are nityapratyayas) when the Samāsānta is applied then also there will be two svaras (54) - antodāttatva and pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara (ādyudāttatva). Nāgeśa (55) asserts that the ṣa-pratyaya (apart from ṣac) is the sign (jñāpaka) in ruling that Samāsāntavidhi is anitya (not compulsory).*

7. *Appūraṇīpramāṇyoḥ (5-4-116): A Śabda in feminine gender ending in pūraṇapratyaya and the one ending with pramāṇī would get ap in Bahuvrīhi - kalyāṇīpañcamāḥ (rātrayaḥ), strīpramāṇaḥ.*

8. *Nityamasic prajāmedhayoḥ (5-4-122): Asic would come (in Bahuvrihi) on prajā and medhā - preceded by nañ, duḥ and su - aprajāḥ / amedhāḥ, suprajāḥ / sumedhāḥ.*

9. *Dharmādanic kevalāt (5-4-124): In Bahuvrīhi dharmaśabda, if preceded by only one pūrvapada, would get anic - kalyāṇadharmā.*

10. *Ic karmavyatihāre (5-4-127): A Bahuvrīhi which denotes a duel would get ic - keśākeśi, muṣṭāmuṣṭi, musalāmusali.*

11. *Uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap (5-4-151): Bahuvrīhi, ending in uras, sarpiḥ, pumān etc. (singular number only) would get kap - vyūḍhoraskaḥ, priyasarpiṣkaḥ etc. In dvivacana and bahuvacana optional kap by śeṣādvibhāṣā (5-4-154) - dvipumān / dvipumskaḥ etc. Arthānnañaḥ (Gaṇasūtram 149) - anarthakam, otherwise apārtham / apārthakam.*

There are certain nipātas and ādeśas among Samāsāntas :-

Acatura, naktamdiva, niśśreyasa, vṛddhokṣa (5-4-77), bahuprajāḥ (5-4-123), suhṛt, durhṛt (5-4-150), niṣpravāṇiḥ (5-4-160) etc. are nipātas with or without Samāsānta.

Sarvāhṇaḥ (ahan replaced by ahṇa 5-4-88), yuvajāniḥ (jāyāyā niṅ 5-4-134), sudan / sudatī (vayasi dantasya datṛ 5-4-141) etc. are ādeśas included in Samāsāntas.

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SANĀDYANTADHĀTUVṚTTIḤ

San etc. are twelve pratyayas called sanādi . Sanādyantas are given the name dhātu by sanādyantā dhātavaḥ (3-1-32) so that kṛts as well as tiṅs can be added for required Śabdas. Since sanādipratyayas are not read under the Adhikāra- dhātoḥ (3-1-91) they cannot be called kṛts. And for the same reason they do not get the samjñā - ārdhadhātuka by ārdhadhātukam śeṣaḥ (3-4-114) and as a result iḍāgama by ārdhadhātukasyeḍvalādeḥ (7-2-35) and guṇa by sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ (7-3-84) won't apply.

Ekārthībhāva: *Patañjali (1) discussed this aspect under dhātoḥ samānakartṛkādicchāyām vā (3-1-7) and supa ātmanaḥ kyac (3-1-8)- kyac-pratyaya does not come in cases like - mahāntam putram icchati (putram icchati-putrīyati is the example) due to asāmarthya and asāmarthya is due to sāpekṣatva, i.e. the word putram, which is involved, is tied with a viśeṣaṇa (qualifier) - mahāntam and hence became sāpekṣa. Following Kātyāyana (2), Patañjali (3) remarks that the term vā in 3-1-7 is not required / useful as san is a nityapratyaya.*

Here (in Sanādyantadhātuprakriyā) there are two sides - Vṛttipakṣa and Avṛttipakṣa. It is natural that both Vākya and pratyaya would be there (in common parlance). In such a situation when there is the nityapratyaya (no Vākya) then whatelse than samjñā can be targeted? And optionality to pratyayasamjñā is not desirable. Therefore vā is not useful. Under supa ātmanaḥ kyac (3-1-8) Patañjali (4) discusses the strange situation wherein one has to conclude that sāpekṣatve na vṛttiḥ but make an exception that sāpekṣatve'pi gamakatve vṛttiḥ (i.e. repetition of what was said under samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ, 2-1-1, no Samāsa in the case of mahat kaṣṭam śritaḥ, but it is there in the case of devadattasya gurukulam) - Sanādyantadhātuvṛtti does not apply (here it is kyac) in the case of mahāntam putram icchati due to sāpekṣatva but even if it is sāpekṣa, kyac will come on muṇḍayati māṇavakam due to gamakatva (here it is ṇic by muṇḍamiśra , 3-1-20). Therefore, it is clear that the adhikāra - samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ (2-1-1) applies in this Vṛtti as well.

The peculiarity of Sanādi is that some of these pratyayas apply on dhātus whereas others on prātipadikas but both of them ultimately become dhātus and thus become eligible to receive both kṛts and tiṅgs. While tiṅantas are used directly, the kṛdantas, following kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca (1-2-46) get sups and end up as subantas.

Guptijkidbhyaḥ san (3-1-5): *Gup-tij-kit - these dhātus get san-pratyaya. In what sense? As per the paribhāṣā - anirdiṣṭārthāḥ pratyayāḥ svārthe bhavanti - it should be svārtha, i.e. prakṛtyartha (or as remarked by Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa under Pratyayaḥ, 3-1-1, svārtha is a kalpanā and it means meaninglessness / artharāhitya). It seems there is deep controversy in this aspect - Patañjali under - supi sthaḥ, 3-2-4, tumarthe sesen ..., 3-4-9, kartari kṛt , 3-4-67 etc. quotes the above paribhāṣā and mentions - guptijkidbhyaḥ san and yāvādibhyaḥ kan (5-4-29) as examples.*

Kāśikāvṛtti quotes a Vārtika (it is not there in Mahābhāṣya) - nindākṣamāvyādhipratīkāreṣu saniṣyate, which means san would come in blaming, patience and remedy for a disease respectively. Jinendrabuḍdhi (5) goes one step further and remarks that a sannantagup-dhātu, i.e. jugupsate, does not denote the meaning of gup (hiding) and following anvaya and vyatireka, i.e. when there is san then the meaning (blaming) is expressed and not in its absence, it is decided that this is the meaning of san.

Bhāṭṭojidīkṣita mentioned the Vārtika in three pieces. Nāgeśa in Udyota held that in light of the usages it may be explained that san would come on dhātus having specific meaning.

Pāṇini used sannantakit-dhātu in kṣetriyac parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ (5-2-92). Vicikitsā tu saṁśayaḥ is Amarakośa. Gup gopane and kita niketane - are usages.

It seems that Pāṇini at times does not go into the semantic part - asti nāsti diṣṭam matiḥ (4-4-60). Āstika and nāstika are popular in the sense of believer in another world and non-believer in another world respectively. Jugupsā, cikitsā etc. are popular in some sense and it is needless to mention the sense in such cases.

Namovarivaścitraṅaḥ kyac, (3-1-19) is another sanādi where Pāṇini does not mention the meaning and Patañjali says that Ācārya surprises - at some places he mentions the meanings and at some other places he does not. Samāsāntas can also be an example. Under 3-1-21, (dhātorekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre yaṅ) Kātyāyana remarks - kriyāviśeṣe svārthe yaṅ, i.e. yaṅ-pratyaya is instituted in a specific meaning which is svārtha. This remark insinuates that Kātyāyana (and Patañjali) considers even the specific meaning kriyāsamabhihāra as the meaning of dhātu (prakṛti) itself and therefore it is svārtha.

Apparently, Nāgeśa (6) is trying to defend Patañjali. Haradatta of Padamañjarī seems to have given the clue to Nāgeśa.

But in examples like jugupsiṣate and mīmāṁsiṣate, where there are two sannantas one has to accept that the first san is in svārtha as otherwise it goes against the norm - sannantānna saniṣyate (3-1-7 Patañjali), i.e. no san on san (in the same sense).

Since dhātus have got several meanings (dhātūnām anekārthatvāt) Patañjali must have thought that the popular meaning of the dhātu in relation to the pratyaya (san-jugupsā, ṇic-gopāyati) will be taken and it may not be wise to mention the sense in cases like - cikitsā and viciktsā by reason of brevity. It is in this context that one should recall the statement of Patañjali under samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ 2-1-1 (nahyarthā ādiśyante) and this is Śabdānuśāsanam and not Arthānuśāsanam.

Dvitva by sanyaṅoḥ (6-1-9) and ātmanepada by pūrvavatsanaḥ (1-3-62) - jugupsate, jugupsāṁcakre, titikṣate, cikitsati, cikitsāṁcakāra - in the sense of nivāsa (dwelling) ketayati and guptijmān-dhātus are, according to Patañjali, anudāttets (anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam, 1-3-12).

Since jugupsa is a dhātu akārapratyaya by a pratyayāt (3-3-102) in strīliṅga is added - jugupsā.

Mānbadhadānśānbhyo dīrghaścābhyāsasya (3-1-6): *Alongwith the three dhātus mentioned in the earlier Sūtra, all four dhātus get*

sanpratyaya as nitya (tatra nityatvātsanaḥ - Mahābhāṣyam, 3-1-7), i.e. Ekārthībhāva is nitya and as a result there won't be a Vākya. The only difference between the first three and the last four is that the latter would get dīrgha to abhyāsavarṇa - mīmāṁsate, bībhatsate. Dāna and śāna are svaritets (svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale, 1-3-72, ātmanepadam) - dīdāṁsate, śiśāṁsati / śīśāṁsate. Here dāna is in the sense of straightforwardness and śāna is in sharpening. In other sense - dānayati and śānayati.

Dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ samānakartṛkādicchāyām vā (3-1-7): *Sanpratyaya on dhātus so that ārdhadhātukatva and iḍāgama would follow.*

A dhātu which has got iṣi as karma and having the same kartā as iṣi, would recieve sanpratyaya optionally in icchā (desire). So there will be both Vṛtti and Vākya - caitraḥ paṭhitum icchati / pipaṭhiṣati. Here Caitra is kartā in both icchā and paṭhana and hence paṭh is samānakartṛka. If guru desires that pupils should study then there won't be san - śiṣyaḥ paṭhantu iti icchati guruḥ (Vākya only).

Kṛt is added - sanāśaṁsabhikṣa uḥ (3-2-168) - pipaṭhiṣuḥ, jigamiṣuḥ, cikīrṣuḥ etc. are subantas. Patañjali raises a question - what about having a san on sannanta - cikīrṣitum icchati, jihīrṣitum icchati? -

śaiṣikānmatubarthīyāt śaiṣiko matubarthikaḥ
sarūpaḥ pratyayo neṣṭaḥ sannantānna saniṣyate

śaiṣikāt śaiṣikaḥ: *- śālāyām bhavaḥ - śālīyaḥ-cha, śālīye bhavaḥ - Vākya only, there cannot be another cha. Sarūpapratyaya only is restricted, virūpapratyaya will come - ahiccatre bhavaḥ - aṇ - āhicchatraḥ, āhicchatre bhavaḥ - cha - āhicchatrīyaḥ*

Matvarthāt: *- dhanam asya asti - matup - dhanavān, dhanavān asya asti - no another matup, but there can be a virūpa - daṇḍaḥ asya asti - ini - daṇḍī, daṇḍinaḥ asyām santi daṇḍimatī śālā (matup).*

Sarūpa means similiarity in meaning. Therefore there can be an icchāsan on svārthika san - jugupsiṣate, mīmāṁsiṣate.

Kātyāyana adds a Vārtika - āśaṁsāyām san vaktavyaḥ - śvā mumūrṣati (the dog wants to die), kūlam pipatiṣati (the bank wants to fall by itself).

Supa ātmanaḥ kyac (3-1-8): *Karmanaḥ, icchāyām, vā - follow. If one wants for himself then kyac will come on subanta. Sup will disappear following supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ (2-4-71). Caitra wants a son for himself - caitraḥ putram ātmanaḥ icchati - putrīyati. If Caitra wants a son to the king then there won't be Vṛtti but Vākya only - caitraḥ, rājñaḥ putram icchati. Mahāputramicchati - mahāputrīyati, but mahāntam putram icchati - Vākya only as the meaning expressed by Vākya can never be expressed by Vṛtti if effected. The aspect is already explained earlier. The dhātus formed on subantas are called nāmadhātus. The īkāra is by kyaci ca (7-4-33). Kātyāyana imposes restriction on māntāvyayas - kyaci māntāvyayapratiṣedhaḥ - idam icchati, kim icchati, uccairicchati, nīcairicchati (māntaprakṛtikasubanta and avyaya are meant).*

Aśanāyodanyadhanāyā bubhukṣāpipāsāgardheṣu (7-4-34): *Three kyajantas are nipātas - aśanāyati, udanyati, dhanāyati in the sense of - desire to eat, desire to drink and desire respectively.*

Kāmyacca (3-1-9): *In the sense of 3-1-8 kāmyac - putram ātmanaḥ icchati - putrakāmyati. A pratyayāt (3-3-102) - putrakāmyā.*

Upamānādācāre (3-1-10): *Ācāra is treatment, upon a subanta which is upamāna and karma - kyac will come - putramivācarati putrīyati chātram (the teacher treats the desciple on a par with his son). Adhikaraṇācceti vaktavyam (Vārtikam) - kuṭīyati prāsāde, prāsādīyati kuṭyām - a sannyāsī treats a palace as a hut and vice versa.*

Kartuḥ kyaṅ salopaśca (3-1-11): *A subanta, which is upamāna and kartā will optionally get kyaṅ in ācārārtha, and salopa also optionally. Kātyāyana adds two significant Vārtikas - salopo vā, ojasopsarasornityam - kṛṣṇa ivācarati kṛṣṇāyate, ojāyate, apsarāyate, yaśāyate / yaśasyate. Kātyāyana amends - sarvaprātipadikebhyaḥ*

ācāre kvibvā vaktavyaḥ. Therefore *kvip* (this *kvip* is different from the one that is *kṛt*) can be added on any *prātipadika*. *Kaiyaṭa* explains the idea behind the assertion - *prātipadika* (and not *subanta*) - so that there will not be *padatva* and *ato guṇe* (6-1-97). *Kvip* is a *sarvalopipratyaya*, i.e. nothing remains to show that such a word is *kvibanta*. But here in *Sanādis* a *kvibanta* would become *dhātu* and there will be *tiṅantas* (in *kṛdantas* also *kvip* would disappear and a *kṛdanta* would become *prātipadika* to receive *sups* - *kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca*, 1-2-46) - he looks like *kṛṣṇa* - *kṛṣṇati*, *malā iva ācarati mālati*.

Bhṛśādibhyo bhuvyacverlopaśca halaḥ (3-1-12): *Bhṛśādis*, which are in *abhūtatadbhāva* will get *kyaṅ* in the sense of *bhavati* and *halantas* will get *lopa* - *abhṛśaḥ bhṛśaḥ bhavati bhṛśāyate*.

Lohitādiḍājbhyaḥ kyaṣ (3-1-13): On *lohitādis* and *ḍājantas kyaṣ* will come in the sense of *bhavati* . Here *acveḥ* comes from earlier *Sūtra* and becomes a qualifier of *lohitādi* and not *ḍāj* as it does not exist. *Alohitaḥ lohitaḥ bhavati* (a non-reddish thing becomes reddish) - *lohitāyati* / *lohitāyate*. *Paṭapaṭāyati* / *paṭapaṭāyate* - *vā kyaṣaḥ* (1-3-90) - optionally *parasmaipada*.

Kaṣṭāya kramaṇe (3-1-14): *Kyaṅ* on *kaṣṭāya* in the sense of interested - *kaṣṭāya kramate kaṣṭāyate*. It means that one is interested in committing sin (here *kaṣṭa* means sin).

Sukhādibhyaḥ kartṛvedanāyām (3-1-18): *Sukha* etc. which are *karmas* will get *kyaṅ* if the person who feels only is the subject of *sukha* etc. - *sukham vedayate sukhāyate*.

Namovarivaścitraṅaḥ kyac (3-1-19): While *Kātyāyana* (7) insists that the meaning should be mentioned, *Patañjali* (8) remarks that *Ācārya* surprisingly mentions the meanings at some places and does not mention at some other places but for the sake of non-scholars the meaning should be mentioned. He concludes that since *karaṇe* from *śabdavairakalahābhrakaṇvameghebhyaḥ karaṇe* (3-1-17) follows and as it means *karoti* which is *kriyāsāmānya* it need not be (insisted that the meaning should be) mentioned. Rather, *Patañjali* gives the meanings for the *dhātus* in this *Sūtra* and the following one, i.e. *pucchabhāṇḍacīvarāṇṇiṅ* (3-1-20) - *namasyati devān* (saluting), *varivasyati gurūn* (serving), *citrīyate* (surprising), *utpucchayate*, *vipucchayate*, *paripucchayate*, the animal is shaking the tail (upwards, at random, around), *sambhāṇḍayate* (collecting), *samcīvarayate* (earning or putting on).

Namasyā, *varivasyā* are nouns by *a pratyayāt* (3-3-102) - *pūjā namasyāpacitiḥ saparyārcārhaṇāssamāḥ, varivasyā tu śuśrūṣā paricaryāpyupāsanā* - *Amarakośa*.

Muṇḍamiśraślakṣṇalavaṇavratavastrahalakalakṛtatūstebhyo ṇic (3-1-21): *Karaṇe* from 3-1-17 follows. *Muṇḍa* etc. will get *ṇic-pratyaya* in the sense of *karoti* . As has already been explained under - *supa ātmanaḥ kyac* (3-1-8) there will be *Vṛtti* even in *sāpekṣatva* - *muṇḍam karoti māṇavakam muṇḍayati* (he is getting the boy, i.e. boy's head, clean-shaven). *Kaiyaṭa* remarks that while the *curādigaṇasūtra* - *prātipadikāddhātvarthe bahulam iṣṭhavacca* is there this *Sūtra* is an elaboration or it is for *Vṛtti* in *sāpekṣatva*.

There are ten categories of *dhātus* and *Curādi* is also a *gaṇa* (group). *Pāṇini* instituted *ṇic* on these *dhātus* in order to get *dhātutva* thru *sanādi*

Satyāpapāśarūpavīṇātūlaślokasenālomatvacavarmavarṇacūrṇa-curādibhyo ṇic (3-1-25): - *satyam karoti satyāpayati* (he is pledging that this is true), *corayati* / *corayate*. While all the twelve roots get *ṇic* in the sense of *tatkaroti tadācaṣṭe* (doing / saying), the *curādis* get it in *svārtha*.

Hetumati ca (3-1-26): Here the term *hetu* is technical (9), i.e. the one who / which employs / urges / makes it convenient. *Tatprayojako hetuśca* (1-4-55) is the definition. The *ṇic* by this *Sūtra* upon a *dhātu* expresses the activity or behaviour (*vyāpāra* or *pravartanā*). And *ṇic* is applicable only when *prayojya* (employer) and *prayojaka* (employee) are interacting and the function by the latter takes place. *Devadattaḥ yajñadattena pācayati* (Devadatta arranged cooking by Yajñadatta or Devadatta making cooking by Yajñadatta) - this is for *preṣaṇā*. When the *śiṣya* (desciple) requests the *guru* (teacher) - *pāṭhaya* (teach me), it is *adhyeṣaṇā*.

Tatsamarthācaraṇa (10) needs elaboration - in the above examples for preṣaṇā and adhyeṣaṇā there are two kartas, prayojyakartā (who employs / requests) and prayojakakartā (who acts). The activity of the former is dhātvartha and that of the latter is ṇijartha. Dhātvartha is the qualifier of ṇijartha, i.e. dhātvartha is unimportant and ṇijartha is important. While things stand thus there are usages like - bhikṣā vāsayate, kārīṣo'gniradhyāpayati, where no living person is there to cause preṣaṇā and adhyeṣaṇā (both the activities can be performed by a living thing only). Alms (or support) are making the mendicant stay put - is the answer to the question - why is he staying in the village?

Similarly, the fire of drydung (dung is dried and used as firewood) is making him study - is the answer to the question - how is the student continuing the study in such a cold weather. Kātyāyana (11) raised an issue - here hetu should be taken as nimitta (cause), i.e. not the technical one by tatprayojako hetuśca (1-4-55) in order to cover examples like the above. Patañjali explicates the idea behind the statement - Kātyāyana thinks that preṣaṇa and adhyeṣaṇa are possible only to beings and bhikṣā is a non-being. Then he offers the solution - it won't be amiss, a person who offers - you can stay here - only need not be considered as providing for the stay; rather the person who keeps mum but arranges (samarthācaraṇa) for the stay is also to be considered as a provider. Even available alms (bhikṣas) which are abundant and coupled with mouthwatering sauces also facilitate the stay (of the student). Similarly, the fire of dry-dung well-lit at a windless and secluded place facilitates the study.

In fact, there are a number of Vārtikas offered by Kātyāyana for analysing and certifying certain examples but Patañjali (12) brushed aside all of them as Pāṇini's Sūtra will suffice to cover all the usages under three headings - preṣaṇa, adhyeṣaṇa and tatsamarthācaraṇa - pathikaḥ māhiṣmatyām sūryamudgamayati (the wayfarer raises Sun in the city of Māhiṣmatī, i.e. he would arrive in the city by sun-rise), kamsam ghātayati (the story teller is making kamsa's killing, i.e. the act or activity is being enacted and treated as if it is happening now, this sentence is offered as an answer when people who are late to the drama enquire) etc. are analysed by the Sūtra itself.

Patañjali (13) analyses the aspect of independence in case of prayojaka (employee) in light of the observations made by Kātyāyana (i.e. since a person who employs only can have independence and not the one who is employed and thus the employee cannot be called hetu as he is not svatantra / independent - svatantraḥ kartā, tatprayojako hetuśca, 1-4-54, 55) - nobody in the world is behaving out of kindness towards others, rather all the people are trying for their selfish ends. The desciples are serving the guru in order to attain pāralaukika (good result in the other world) and for teaching by guru. The workers are also working with a view of getting the daily payment, oil etc. and also not to get reprimanded. The experts also are doing things for their own good - we will get salary and friends as well. Therefore, there is kartṛtva in prayojaka.

<u>Dhātorekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre yaṅ (3-1-22):</u> Recurrence and abundance are referred to by the term kriyāsamabhihāra. Yaṅ-pratyaya would come on a halādidhātu having a single ac suggesting (dyotya) and not expressing (vācya) kriyāsamabhihāra. Abhyāsa will get guṇa by guṇo yaṅlukoḥ (7-4-82) and ātmanepadam by anudātta ṅita ātmanepadam (1-3-12). As it was in the case of sannantas the dhātu will get dvitva (reduplication) by sanyaṅoḥ (6-1-9) - pāpacyate caitraḥ (Caitra is cooking time and again or plenty). Sosūcyate (sūca paiśunye - to vilify) etc.

Ekārthībhāva has to be imposed in the prakṛti - pratyaya combination as this is a Padavidhi. Since the meaning to be expressed, i.e. kriyāsamabhihāra cannot be conveyed thru a Vākya, yaṅ-pratyaya is nitya, rather Ekārthībhāva is nitya. This is suggested by Kātyāyana (14) under 3-1-23, i.e. nityam kauṭilye gatau - since the specific meaning is not conveyed by vigraha the term nityam (it runs into 3-1-24 as anuvṛtti) is not required. Hari compares this with nityam in nityam krīḍājīvikayoḥ (2-2-17). Rather since vā follows from dātoḥ samānakartṛkādicchāyām vā (3-1-7), yaṅ will be optional - there will be loṭ by kriyāsamabhihāre dve bhavataḥ (Vārtika under 8-1-12) - sa bhavān lunīhi lunīhītyevāyam lunāti, punīhi punīhītyevāyam punāti. Kaiyaṭa (15) while commenting on the above Vārtika says that since in the case of loṭ only is this dvitva applicable (significant

is the fact that the context as to whether dvitva will be there in loṭ or yaṅ - is not mentioned in the Vārtika) and not in yaṅ as loṭ (even in samuccaya, dvitva is instituted by samuccaye sāmānyavacanasya 3-4-5) does not have the sāmarthya (capacity) to express samabhivyāhāra, rather yaṅ does not need dvitva as it per se denotes (dyotana) kriyāsamabhihāra. The word dhātoḥ in Sūtra is for ārdhadhātukatva and the ṅakāra in yaṅ is for ātmanepada.

Nyāsakāra, Jinendrabuddhi, explains that kriyā will be two-fold - pradhānā and apradhānā. The softening of raw rice is the former whereas putting the pot on hearth etc. is the latter. If the cook completes cooking and again starts the same activity it is paunaḥpunyam (recurrence) and if he is involved only in apradhānakriyas completely then it is bhṛśārthatā (abundance) - jājvalyate, dedīpyate - guṇa by guṇo yaṅlukoḥ (7-4-82). Dedīpyamāna, jājvalyamāṅa etc. by adding śānac-pratyaya. Yaṅantas and yaṅlugantas are rarely used and a person with the knowledge of these paradigms is considered highly.

***Nityam kauṭilye gatau (3-1-23):** Yaṅ will be constantly there on dhātus that mean going in the sense of kauṭilya (zig-zag) only - caṁkramyate, daṁdramyate - kuṭilam krāmati - is the vigraha. Jinendrabuddhi explains that a person who travels to and fro across a narrow path is referred to by these words.*

***Rīgṛdupadhasya ca (7-4-90):** The abhyāsa of a ṛdupadhadhātu will get rīgāgama in yaṅ and yaṅluk. Narīnṛtyate (dancing time and again), parīpṛchyate (being asked time and again).*

***Yaṅo'ci ca (2-4-74):** Yaṅ pratyaya will get luk whether followed or not by ac-pratyaya - bobhavīti / bobhoti, momudīti / momotti. Ṛk, rik and rīk-āgamās by `ṛtaśca (7-4-92) - carkarīti / carkarti / carikarti / carīkarti.*

***Kaṇḍvādibhyo yak (3-1-27):** Kaṇḍvādiṣ (16) are both dhātus and prātipadikas. Here since there won't be any use by yak and the kittva therein it is decided that dhātus are to be taken and not prātipadikas. From dhātorekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre yaṅ (3-1-22) the word dhātoḥ follows. How to decide that there are kaṇḍvādiprātipadikas?*

Kaṇḍūñ, hṛṇīñ, mahīṅ etc. are pronounced by Pāṇini as dīrghāntās. If they are dhātus then only will they get dīrgha by akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ dīrghaḥ (7-4-25) in case yak is applied. The yak-pratyaya is nitya since vā is read in the next Sūtra and in case this pratyaya is optional, vā comes as anuvṛtti from earlier Sūtra and goes further. Since the sense is not mentioned in the Sūtra yak comes in svārtha. Kaṇḍūyati / kaṇḍūyate (it is itching), kaṇḍūḥ (itch). Hṛṇīyate, mahīyate, sukhyati, duḥkhyati (ato lopaḥ, 6-4-48), asūyati / asūyate, asūyā (a pratyayāt, 3-3-102).

***Gupūdhūpavicchipaṇipanibhya āyaḥ (3-1-28):** Dhātoḥ from dhātorekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre yaṅ (3-1-22) follows. The result is ārdhadhātukatva and guṇa by pugantalaghūpadhasya ca (7-3-86). Since no sense is mentioned in the Sūtra, āya-pratyaya is in svārtha - gopāyati. Pāṇini by another Sūtra, i.e. āyādaya ārdhadhātuke vā (3-1-31) made āyādi (āya, īyaṅ and ṇiṅ) optional in ārdhadhātukavivakṣā. Ām will be added (kāspratyayādāmamantre liṭi, 3-1-35) in case āya is applied (in liṭ), ato lopaḥ (6-4-48 under ārdhadhātuke, 6-4-46) - gopāyāṁcakāra / gopāyāmbabhūva / gopāyāmāsa. In case āya is not applied it will be jugopa. Dhūpāyati, dhūpāyāṁcakāra / dudhūpa.*

***Ṛterīyaṅ (3-1-29):** Ṛti is a sautradhātu, i.e. is not there in dhātupāṭha. It is in svārtha apparently. This Sūtra has got its own significance as instead of making it ṛteśchaṅ and getting īyādeśa by āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghām pratyayādīnām (7-1-2) Pāṇini made it īyaṅ to suggest that āyan etc. won't apply to dhātupratyayas. This results in the conclusion that Pāṇini does not believe in Vyutpattipakṣa (i.e. Prātipadikas are formed by adding pratyayas like uṇādi on dhātus) like his predecessor Śākaṭāyana and Nairuktas, rather he supports Avyutpattipakṣa. Īyasun in dvivacanavibhajyopapade tarabīyasunau (5-3-57) is not replaced by chasun, but this cannot be taken as a proof on a par with īyaṅ as in that case āyan etc. will have no place at all - asserts Nāgeśa (17) in Udyota. The dhātu, according to some, is used in the sense of jugupsā (hate) and others kṛpā (mercy) also. Prakriyā is like in case of āya - ṛtīyate, ṛtīyāṁcakre.*

Kamerṇiṅ (3-1-30): Ṇiṅ-pratyaya on kamidhātu in svārtha. Prakriyā as in the case of āya and īyaṅ - kāmayate caitraḥ (Caitra desires), ceto nalam kāmayate madīyam (says Damayanti in Naiṣadhīyacarita of Śrīharṣa - my mind desires Nala), Kāmayāmcakre (ṇi has got ayādeśa by ayāmantālvayyetnviṣṇuṣu, 6-4-55) / cakame. By adding śānac - kāmayamāna-kanye kāmayamānam mām na tvam kāmayase katham? - Daṇḍī in Kāvyādarśa (o! virgin I love you how come you do not reciprocate?).

Among the twelve Sanādipratyayas eleven are said by Pāṇini and ācārakvip is said by Kātyāyana.

***

REFERENCES

INTRODUCTION

1. *svabhāvataścaitadbhavati - vākyam ca samāsaśca*
   - Patañjali 2-1-1.

2. *abudhān pratyupāyāśca vicitrāḥ pratipattaye*
   śabdāntaratvādatyantabhedo vākyasamāsayoḥ
   - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 49.

   abudhān prati vṛttim ca vartayantaḥ prakalpitām
   āhuḥ parārthavacane tyāgābhyuccayadharmatām
   - 94 ibid.

3. *padasambandhī yo vidhiḥ sa samarthāśrito bodhyaḥ*
   - Kaumudī 2-1-1.

4. *arthaikatvādekam vākyam sākāṅkṣam cedvibhāge syāt*
   - Jaimini, Mīmāmsādarśanam 2-1-14-46.

5. *tatraikārthībhāvaḥ sāmarthyam paribhāṣā cetyevam sūtram abhinnatarakam bhavati*
   - Patañjali, 2-1-1; also see Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa.

6. *parasparavyapekṣām sāmarthyameke*
   - Patañjali, ibid.

7. *vyapekṣaivātra sāmarthyam, na tvekārthībhāva ityāhuḥ*
   - Pradīpa, ibid.

8. *abhedaikatvasamkhyā vā tatrānyaivopajāyate*
   samsargarūpam samkhyānāmavibhaktam taducyate
   - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 99.

9. *samkhyāviśeṣāṇavagatirevābhedaikatvasamkhyāpadenocyate, bhedasahacaritadvitvāderekatvasya cābhānamiti tadarthaḥ taduktam hariṇā vācikā dyotikā vāpi samkhyānām yā vibhaktayaḥ tadrūpe'vayave vṛttau samkhyābhedo nivartate.*
   - Mañjūṣā, Vṛtti (Vākya, Vṛtti 98).

10. *yathauṣadhirasāḥ sarve madhunyāhitaśaktayaḥ avibhāgena vartante tām saṃkhyām tādṛśīm viduḥ*
- *Hari, Vākya 100.*

11. *arthānādeśanāt, na hyarthā ādiśyante, ... cārthe yaḥ. sa dvandvaḥ laghvartham hyarthā nādiśyante ... anavasthā ca syāt, ... ko hi nāma samarthaḥ ...*
- *Patañjali 2-1-1.*

12. *saviśeṣaṇānām vṛttirna, vṛttasya vā viśeṣaṇayogo na*
- *Kātyāyana 2-1-1.*

13. *sāpekṣam asamartham bhavati*
- *Patañjali ibid.*

idameva padārthaḥ padārthena (annveti natvekadeśena) iti vyutpatteḥ mūlam iti dik
- *Nāgeśa 2-1-1.*

14. *samudāyena sambandho yeṣām gurukulādinā samspṛsyāvayavāmste tu yujyante tadvatā saha sambandhiśabdaḥ sāpekṣo nityam sarvaḥ prayujyate vākyavat sā vyapekṣā hi vṛttāvapi na hīyate*
- *Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 47, 48.*

15. *yatra ca gamako bhavati, bhavati tatra vṛttiḥ; avaśyam kasyacinnañsamāsasya asamarthasya gamakasya sādhutvam vaktavyam*
- *Patañjali 2-1-1.*

SAMĀSAVṚTTIḤ

1. *supā ca saha sup samasyate, adhikāraśca lakṣaṇam ca, yasya samāsasya anyallakṣanam nāsti idam tasya lakṣaṇam bhavisyati punarutsyūtam vāso deyam, punarniṣkṛto rathaḥ*
- *Patañjali 2-1-4.*

2. *vibhāṣeti yogavibhāgaḥ*
- *Kātyāyana 2-1-11.*

vibhāṣeti yogavibhāgaḥ kartavyaḥ, vibhāṣā ityayamadhikāraḥ
- *Patañjali 2-1-11.*

3. *vibhāṣāgrahaṇam ca sāmarthyenaiva sambadhyate, vyākhyānāt*
- *Nāgeśa 2-1-17.*

4. *iha samānārthena vākyena bhavitavyam samāsena ca*
- *Patañjali 2-1-1.*

5. *krīḍāyām jīvikāyām ca vākyenāvacanāttathā na nityagrahaṇam yuktam kauṭilye yaṅvidhau yathā*
- *Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti, 40.*

6. *yā sāmānyāśrayā samjñā viśeṣaviṣayā ca yā bahulagrahaṇānnāsti pravṛttirubhayostayoḥ*

susūkṣmajaṭakeśādau samāso'vayave yadi syāt syāttatrāntaraṅgatvād bādhako'vayavasvaraḥ
- *Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 56, 57.*

7. *atha kriyamāṇe'pi samarthagrahaṇe iha kasmānna bhavati - mahat kaṣṭam śritaḥ iti, na vā bhavati mahākaṣṭaśritaḥ iti? bhavati yadaitadvākyam bhavati-mahat kaṣṭam mahākaṣṭam, mahākaṣṭam śrito mahākaṣṭaśrita iti; yadā tvetad vākyam bhavati-mahat kaṣṭam śrita iti, tadā na bhavitavyam, tadā ca prāpnoti - Patañjali 2-1-1.*

yadyatra kaṣṭaśritaśabdayoḥ samāsaḥ syāttadā mahatkaṣṭaśrita iti syāt, athāpi trayāṇām padānām samāsaḥ syāttathāpyuttarapade vidhīyamānam āttvam madhyamapade na syāt; athāpi trayāṇām samāse kṛte sanmahaditi dvayoḥ samāsaḥ - Kaiyaṭa 2-1-1.

mahākaṣṭaśritetvevam na syādbhedaḥ padatraye vṛttāvavayavasyāttvam yasmānna pratiṣidhyate
- *Hari. Vākya. Vṛtti 60.*

tadā kasmānna bhavati? kasya kasmānna bhavati? kim dvayoḥ? āhosvit bahūnām? bahūnām kasmānna bhavati?supsupeti vartate, ākṛtistu pratyekam parisamāpyate, na samudāye, dvayoścaitat parisamāpyate na bahuṣu - Patañjali 2-1-1.

8. *ya eva ca mahākaṣṭam śrito mahākaṣṭaśrita ityatra ahīne dvītīyā iti svaro bhavati. tatra sa eva samāsasyetyanena, tathāpi mahāraṇyātīta ityatra svaro bhidyate - Kaiyaṭa - ibid.*

9. *mahāraṇya matīte tu tripadādbhidyate svaraḥ,*
yasmāttatrāntaraṅgatvāt bādhako'vayavasvaraḥ

satiśiṣṭabalīyastvāt thāthādisvara eva tu,
dvipade tena yugapat tritayam na samasyate
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 61&62.

10. *samkhyāyā vivakṣitatvādekasyaiva subantasya ekenaiva subantena samāsaḥ tato bahūnām na bhavatītyarthaḥ, yathā paśunā yajetetyanekasya paśorupādānābhāvastathehāpi - Kaiyaṭa 2-1-1.*

11. *adhītya snātvā gurubhiranujñātena khaṭvāroḍhavyā, ya idānīm ato'nyathā karoti sa ucyate khatvārūḍho'yam jālmo nātivratavān - Patañjali 2-1-25.*

12. *annena vyañjanam bhakhṣyeṇa miśrīkaraṇam ityasamarthasamāsaḥ,yuktārthasampratyayācca sāmarthyam, sampratyayācca tadadhyavasānam - Kātyāyana 2-1-33, 34.*

13. *annena vyañjanam, bhakhṣyeṇa miśrīkaraṇam ityasamartha-samaso'yam draṣṭavyaḥ, kim kāraṇam? kārakāṇām kriyāsamarthatvāt, kārakāṇām kriyayā sāmarthyamasti, na teṣāmanyonyena, tadyathā niśrayaṇyā dvābhyām kāṣṭhābhyām sāmarthyam, na teṣāmanyonyena, katham tarhi sāmarthyam gamyate, dadhnā yuktārthatā sampratīyate, sampratyayācca tadartho'dhyavasīyate, avaśyam caitadevam vijñeyam, sampratīyamānārthalope hyanavasthā - Patañjali, ibid.*

prakārāntareṇa vidhiniṣedhalakṣaṇāvasāyāccaritārthatvāt yathā śabdānām prayogo nāsti tathā yuktādīnāmapītyarthaḥ - Kaiyaṭa ibid.

14. *yathā tīrthakākā na ciram sthātāro bhavanti, evam yo gurukulāni gatvā na ciram tiṣṭhati sa ucyate tīrthakāka iti - Patañjali 2-1-41.*

15. *vaiyākaraṇakhasūciḥ, kim vyākaraṇam kutsitam, āhosvid vaiyākaraṇaḥ? vaiyākaraṇaḥ kutsitaḥ, tasmin kutsite tatsthamapi kutsitam bhavati - Patañjali 2-1-52.*

16. *ayam bhāvaḥ - śabdapravṛttinimittakutsāyāmayam samāsa iṣyate, vaiyākaraṇścaura ityādau mā bhūditi, tatra vyākaraṇasya vedāṅgatvānnāsti kutsā, nāpi tadadhīyānasya - Kaiyaṭa ibid.*

17. *upamānānityucyate, kāni punarupamānāni? kim yadevopamānam tadevopameyam? āhosvit anyadevopamānam anyadupameyam? kimcātaḥ? yadi yadevopamānam tadevopameyam ka ihopamārthaḥ gauriva gauriti, athānyadeva upamānamanyadupameyam, ka ihopamārthaḥ gaurivāśva iti - Patañjali 2-1-54.*

upamānatvam ca sādhāraṇadharmavattvena īṣaditara-paricchedakatvam, taddharmavattayā paricchedyatvam copameyatvam - Nāgeśa, Mañjūṣa, Nipāta.

18. *ekajātivyapekṣāyām tadevetyavasīyate*
bhedasyaiva vyapekṣāyām anyadeveti gamyate
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 389.

19. *evam tarhi yatra kimcitsāmānyam kaścicca viśeṣaḥ tatropamanopameye bhavataḥ - Patañjali 2-1-54.*

20. *kimcidyatrāsti sāmānyam yadi bhedāśca kecana*
gotvam goṣvasti sāmānyam bhedāśca śabalādayaḥ
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 396.

21. *nahi, kathamanucyamānam gamsyate? mānam hi nāma anirjñātajñānārthamupādīyate - anirjñātamartham jñāsyāmīti, tatsamīpe yannātyantāya mimīte tadupamānam gauriva gavaya iti, gauḥ nirjñātaḥ gavayo' nirjñātaḥ - Patañjali 2-1-54.*

22. *nātyantāya mimīte yat sāmānye samavasthitam*
sādṛsyādupameyārthaḥ samīpe parikalpyate
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 387.

mānam prati samīpam vā sādṛśyena pratīyate
paricchedāddhi sādṛśyamiha mānopamānayoḥ
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 388.

23. *sāmānyam śyāmatādyeva taddhi sādhāraṇam dvayoḥ*
tadeva siddhyasiddhibhyām bheda ityapadiśyate
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 397.

24. *śyāmatvameva sāmānyamanyeṣāmubhayoḥ sthitam*
sampūrṇatvāt tadanyatvāt viśeṣa iti kathyate
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 398.

25. *bahuvrīhyartham tu (vārtikam) bahuvrīhipratiṣedhārtham tu śeṣagrahaṇam kartavyam - śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ iti, kim prayojanam prayojanamavyayībhāvopamānadvigukṛllopeṣu (vārtikam) upamāna - śastrīśyamā, kumudaśyenī - Patañjali 1-4-1.*

26. *syāmeva śastrī kanyeti yathānyadvyapadiśyate*
asan brāhmaṇa ityābhyām tathānye kṣastriyādayaḥ

syāmatva mupamāne cedvṛttau vṛttam prayujyate
upameyam samāsena bāhyam tatrābhidhīyate
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 297 & 408.

evam tarhi tasyāmevobhayam vartate
- Patañjali 1-4-1.

śastrīva śastrī syāmeti devadatteva kathyate
tasyāmevobhayam tasmāducyate śāstravigrahe
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 419.

27. *sāmānyāprayoge iti kimartham? iha mā bhūt puruṣo'yam vyāghra iva śūraḥ, puruṣo'yam vyāghra iva balavān - Patañjali 2-1-55.*

28. *vyāghraśabdo yathā śauryāt puruṣārthe' vatiṣṭhate*
tadādhikaraṇābhedāt samāsasyāsti sambhavaḥ
bhinne' dhikaraṇe vṛttestatra naivāsti sambhavaḥ
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 428 & 429.

upamānapratipādanaparametat, vaiyadhikaraṇyādevātra samāsasyāprasaṅgaḥ, yadā tu vyāghraśabdaḥ puruṣārthe eva vartate tadā sāmānādhikaraṇye sati samāsena bhāvyam - Kaiyaṭa 2-1-55.

29. *sāmānādhikaraṇye' pi guṇabhedasya sambhavāt*
prayogaśśūraśabdasya samāse' pyanuṣajyate

pūjopādhiśca yo dṛṣṭaḥ kutsanopādhayaśca ye
teṣām bhinnanimittatvāt niyamārthā punaḥ śrutiḥ
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 430 & 431.

30. *asāmarthyāt, kathamasāmarthyam, sāpekṣamasamartham bhavatiti, evam tarhi siddhe sati yat sāmānyāprayoge iti pratiṣedham śāsti tajjñāpayatyācāryo bhavati vai pradhānasya sāpekṣasyāpi samāsaḥ , kimetasya jñāpane prayojanam? rājapuruṣo' bhirūpaḥ, rājapuruṣo darśanīyaḥ, atra vṛttiḥ siddhā bhavati - Patañjali 2-1-55.*

asambhave' pi vā vṛtteḥ syādetalliṅgadarśanam
acveriti yathāliṅgamabhāve' pi bhṛśādiṣu
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 432.

nyāyasiddha evārthe liṅgadarśanamidam, prādhānyādevānekopakārakopakāryatvāvirodhāt samāsasya siddhatvāt - Kaiyaṭa 2-1-55.

anekopakārakopakāryatvam anekaviśeṣaṇaviśeṣyatvam
- Nāgeśa ibid.

31. *kvacitpravṛttiḥ kvacidapravṛttiḥ kvacidvibhāṣā kvacidanyadeva vidhervidhānam bahudhā samīkṣya caturvidham bāhulakam vadanti - abhiyuktokti.*

yā sāmānyāśrayā samjñā viśeṣaviṣayā ca yā
bahulagrahaṇānnāsti pravṛttirubhayostayoḥ
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 56.

32. *viśeṣanādviśeṣye'rthe tadbhāvābhyuccaye sati*
punaśca pratisamhāre vṛttimeke pracakṣate
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 88.

33. *anusyūteva samsṛṣṭerarthe buddhiḥ pravartate*
vyākhyātāro vibhajyātha tām bhedena pracakṣate
tadātmanyavibhakte ca buddhyantaramupāśritāḥ
vibhāgamiva manyante viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyayoḥ
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 92 & 93.

34. *viśeṣyam syādanirjñātam nirjñātārtho viśeṣaṇam*
parārthatvena śeṣatvam sarveṣāmupakāriṇām
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 7.

35. *kimpradhāno'yam samāsaḥ? uttarapadārthapradhānaḥ, yadyuttarapadārthapradhānaḥ abrāhmaṇamānayetyukte brāhmaṇamātrasyānayanam praproti,*
- Patañjali 2-2-6.

padārthānupaghātena dṛśyate ca viśeṣaṇam
atha jātimato'rthasya kaścidartho vivartitaḥ

avaśyam brāhmaṇe kaścit kvaciddharmo na vidyate
viśeṣāvacanāttatra nañaḥ śrutiranarthikā
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 268 & 269.

36. *anyapadārthapradhānastarhi bhaviṣyati, yadi anyapadārthapradhānaḥ avarṣā hemantaḥ iti hemantasya yalliṅgam vacanam ca tat samāsasyāpi prāpnoti*
- Patañjali 2-2-6.

ekārthe vartamānābhyāmasatā brāhmaṇena ca
yadā jātyantaram bāhyam kṣatriyādyapadiśyate

avṛṣṭayo yathā varṣā nīhārābhrasamāvṛtāḥ
tadrūpatvāt sa hemantaḥ ityabhinnaḥ pratīyate
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 296 & 301.

37. *pūrvapadārthapradhānastarhi bhaviṣyati, yadi pūrvapadārtha-pradhānaḥ avyayasamjñā prāpnoti, avyayam hyasya pūrvapadamiti tatra kimasmābhiḥ śakyam kartum yannañaḥ prāk samāsālliṅgasamkhyābhyām yogo nāsti samāse ca bhavati, svābhāvikametat - Patañjali 2-2-6.*

sāmānyadravyavṛttitvānnimittānuvidhāyinaḥ
ayogo liṅgasamkhyābhyām syādvā sāmānyadharmatā

prāgasattvābhidhāyitvam samāse dravyavācitā
nimittānuvidhānam ca na sarvatra svabhāvataḥ
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 307 & 308.

38. *śāstrapravṛttibhede'pi laukikārtho na bhidyate*
nañsamāse yatastatra trayaḥ pakṣā vicāritāḥ
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 248.

39. *śeṣa ityucyate, kaḥ śeṣo nāma? yeṣām padānāmanuktaḥ samāsaḥ sa śeṣaḥ, yasya trikasya anuktaḥ samāsaḥ sa śeṣaḥ, kasya cānuktaḥ? prathamāyāḥ - Patañjali 2-2-23.*

40. *padārthābhidhāne anuprayogānupapattiḥ abhihitatvāt iti, sāmānyābhidhāne hi viśeṣānabhidhānam, tatrāvaśyam viśeṣārthinā viśeṣo'nuprayoktavyaḥ, citraguḥ kaḥ devadattaḥ iti, athavā vibhaktyartho'bhidhīyate, etaccātra yuktam yadvibhaktyartho'bhidhīyate tatra hi sarvapaścāt padam vartate asyeti - Patañjali 2-2-24.*

pradhānamanyārthatayā bhinnam svairupasarjanaiḥ
nimittamabhidheyam vā sarvapaścādapekṣyate
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 235.

41. *yadi tarhi vibhaktyartho'bhidhīyate kṛtsnaḥ padārthaḥ kathamabhihito bhavati sadravyaḥ saliṅgaḥ sasamkhyaśca? arthagrahaṇasāmarthyāt, iha anekamanyapade itīyatā siddham, katham punaḥ pade nāma vṛttiḥ syāt? padam nāma śabdaḥ, śabdo hyeṣaḥ, śabde hyasambhavādārthe kāryam vijñāsyate, so'yamevam siddhe sati yadarthagrahaṇam karoti tasyaitat prayojanam kṛtsnaḥ padārtho yathābhidhīyate sadravyaḥ, saliṅgaḥ sasamkhyaśceti - Patañjali 2-2-24.*

42. *svāmini vyatirekaśca vākye yadyapi dṛśyate prādhānya eva tasyeṣṭo bahuvrīhirvivakṣite - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 236.*

43. *nedamubhayam yugapatsambhavati, vākyam samāsaśca - Patañjali 2-2-24.*

44. *bhavati bahuvrīhau tadguṇasamvijñānamapi, tadyathā- suklavāsasamānaya, lohitoṣṇīṣāḥ pracarantīti, tadguṇa ānīyate tadguṇāśca pracaranti - Patañjali 2-1-68 (also 1-1-24)*

45. *evam yathā vijñāyeta cena kṛto'rthaḥ cārtha iti, kaḥ punaḥ cena kṛto'rthaḥ? samuccayaḥ, anvācayaḥ, itaretarayogaḥ samāhāra iti - Patañjali 2-2-29.*

46. *dhavakhadirāvityādau itaretarayogadvandve udbhūtāva yavabhedaḥ samūhaḥ samāsārthaḥ, pāṇipādamityādi samāhāre tu anudbhūtāvayavabhedaḥ samūho viśeṣa iti bodhyam - Nāgeśa, Mañjūṣā, Dvandva.*

47. *samuccayānvācayayostu na samāso'nabhidhānāt - Nāgeśa, Mañjūṣā, Dvandva. evamca samuccayānvā- cayayoścakāro dyotakaḥ, antyayostu vācakaḥ - Nāgeśa, Udyota, 2-2-29.*

yugapadadhikaraṇe dvandvo bhavatīti vaktavyam - Patañjali 2-2-29.

48. *yugapadekaikena śabdenādhikaraṇam abhidheyam dvandvavācyam samudāyarūpam yadocyate tadā dvandvaḥ - Kaiyaṭa, Pradīpa 2-2-29.*

adhikaraṇam vartipadārthau tayoryugapatpadad vayenābhidhāne dvandva iti tadarthaḥ - Nāgeśa, Mañjūṣā, Dvandva.

49. *vigrahe ca yugapadvacanam jñāpakam yugapadvacanasya - Kātyāyana 2-2-29.*

vigrahe khalvapi yugapadvacanatā dṛśyate, kimetat? yugapadadhikaraṇavacanatāyā upodbalakam, vigrahe kila nāma yugapadadhikaraṇavacanatā syāt, kim punaḥ samāse? - Patañjali ibid.

50. *śauṇḍārthaśca puroḍāśaśchatriṇo'tra nidarśanam te viṣṇumitrā iti ca bhinneṣu sahacāriṣu*

samudāyāntaratvācca tādṛśo'rtho na laukikaḥ anvayāvyatirekābhyām śāstrārtho'pi na dṛśyate

duḥkhā durupapādā ca tasmādbhāṣye'pyudāhṛtā yugapadvācitā sā tu vyavahārārthamāśritā - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 31, 33 & 34.

51. *seyam yugapadadhikaraṇavacanatā nāma duḥkhā ca durupapādāca, yaccāpyasyā nibandhanamuktam - dyāvā ha kṣāmeti tadapi chāndasam, tatra supām supo bhavantītyeva siddham, sūtram ca bhidyate - Patañjali 2-2-29.*

duḥkheti - pratītāvanupārohāt, durupapādeti - pramāṇābhāvāt- Kaiyaṭa, ibid.

tatra duḥkhatvam pratītāvanupārohāt, durupapādetyasya duṣṭam nissāramupapādanam yasyāḥ sā nispramāṇetyarthaḥ - Nāgeśa, Mañjūṣā, Dvandva.

52. *prakṛtamanuvartate, kva prakṛtam? tiṣyapunarvasvoḥ nakṣatradvandve bahuvacanasya dvivacanam nityam iti, anavakāśa ekaśeṣaḥ dvandvam bādhiṣyate - Patañjali 1-2-64.*

53. *ākṛtivācitvādekavacanam bhaviṣyati, yadā dravyābhidhānam tadā dvivacanabahuvacane bhaviṣyataḥ - Patañjali ibid.*

ākṛtissarvaśabdānām yadā vācyā pratīyate
ekatvādekaśabdatvam nyāyyam tasyāmca varṇyate

abhede tvekaśabdatvāt śāstrācca vacane sati
ekaśeṣo na vaktavyaḥ vacanānām ca sambhavaḥ
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 316 & 322.

ākṛtivācitvādekavacanam
- Kātyāyana 1-2-69.

54. *na vai maskarī maskaro'syāstīti parivrājakaḥ, kim tarhi? mā kṛta karmāṇi, mā kṛta karmāṇi śāntirvaḥ śreyasītyāha ato maskaro parivrājakaḥ - Patañjali 6-1-154.*

KṚDVṚTTIḤ

1. *yāvatā cedānīm padagandho'sti padavidhirayam bhavati, padavidhiśca samarthānām bhavati - Patañjali 3-1-92.*

2. *bhāṣye gandhaśabdaḥ sambandhavācī*
- Nāgeśa ibid.

3. *yattāvaducyate - samarthagrahaṇam kartavyamiti, na kartavyam, dhātoriti vartate, dhātoḥ karmaṇyaṇ bhavati, tatra sambandhādetad gantavyam yasya dhātoryatkarmeti - Patañjali ibid.*

4. *yata upapadamiti mahatyāḥ samjñāyāḥ karaṇam pratyayasya padāśrayatve sati paribhāṣāvyāpārārthameva - Kaiyaṭa 2-2-1.*

5. *samjñāsūtrasthataṭṭatragrahaṇasya cetyapi bodhyam, yathākathamcit padasambandhividheḥ tatra grahaṇamiti bhāvaḥ - Nāgeśa ibid.*

6. *bhavitavyam yadaitadvākyam bhavati mahān kumbho mahākumbhaḥ,mahākumbham karotīti mahākumbhakāraḥ, yadā tvetadvākyam bhavati - mahāntam kumbham karotīti tadā na bhavitavyam, tatrāsāmarthyānna bhaviṣyati - Patañjali 3-1-92.*

7. *ācāryapravṛttiḥ jñāpayati - nānubandhakṛtam asārūpyam bhavati iti, yadayam dadātidadhātyorvibhāṣām śāsti - Patañjali 3-1-94.*

8. *tatrāyam nirṇayaḥ - stryadhikārasya parastādapi vāsarūpavidhirbhavati, arhe kṛtyatṛcaścetyatra tu kṛtyatṛjgrahaṇena tasyānityatvam jñāpyate - Kaiyaṭa 3-1-94.*

etacca stryadhikārāt pareṇāpi vāsarūpavidhiḥ kvacit svaritatvapratijñānāllabhyate - Nyāsa 3-3-163.

9. *karmakartari cāyam kaiścidiṣyate, bhāṣyakāreṇa tu karmaṇi pradarśitaḥ - Kaiyaṭa 3-1-96.*

kaiściditi, vṛttikārairityarthaḥ, na hi tavyaḥ karmakartari, lakāravācyaḥ kartā karmavaditi vacanāditi bhāvaḥ - Nāgeśa ibid.

10. *vasestavyat kartari vaktavyaḥ, ṇic cāsau bhavatīti vaktavyam, vasatīti vāstavyaḥ, taddhito vā punareṣa bhaviṣyati, vāstuni bhavo vāstavyaḥ - Patañjali 3-1-96.*

nityānām śabdānām yathākathañcidanvākhyānam kartavyamiti manyate, yathoktam - upādāyāpi ye heyāstānupāyān pracakṣate, upāyānām ca niyamo nāvaśyamavatiṣṭhate (Vākya, Vākya. 38) - Kaiyaṭa ibid.

upādāyāpi ye heyā iti upāyaśabdavyutpattiḥ, pṛṣodarāditvāt sādhuḥ, rekhāgavayasthānīyatvāditi bhāvaḥ
- Nāgeśa ibid.

11. *kṛto bahulam pādahārakādyartham*
- Kātyāyana 3-3-113.

kṛto bahulamiti vaktavyam, pādahārakādyartham
- Patañjali ibid.

12. *karmaṇi nirvartyamānavikriyamāṇe*
- Kātyāyana 3-2-1.

karmaṇi nirvartyamānavikriyamāna iti vaktavyam, iha mā bhūt ādityam paśyati, himavantam śṛṇoti, grāmam gacchati - Patañjali ibid.

nirvartyam ca vikāryam ca prāpyam ceti tridhā matam
tatrepsitatamam karma ...

sati vā vidyamānā vā prakṛtiḥ pariṇāminī
yasya nāśrīyate tasya nirvartyatvam pracakṣate

prakṛtesu vivakṣāyām vikāryam ...
kriyākṛtaviśeṣāṇām siddhiryatra na gamyate

darśanādanumānādvā tatprāpyamiti kathyate
Hari, Vākya, Sādhana 45, 47, 48 & 51.

13. *anabhidhānāt*
- Kātyāyana 3-2-1.

14. *kitkaraṇam saṃyogārtham*
- Kātyāyana 3-2-106.

15. *kitkaraṇam kriyate, saṃyogāntārtham, saṃyogāntāḥ prayojayanti chāndasau kānackvasū, liṭ ca chandasi sārvadhātukamapid- bhavati tatra sārvadhātukamapit ṅidvadbhavati, ṅitvādupadhālopo bhaviṣyati* - Patañjali ibid.

16. *ṛkārāntaguṇapratiṣedhārtham vā*
- Kātyāyana ibid.

17. *ayam hi liṭi ṛkārāntānām pratiṣedhaviṣaye guṇa ārabhyate, punaḥ kitkaraṇāt pratiṣidhyate, tasmāt kittvam kartavyam* - Patañjali ibid.

18. *kitkaraṇam kitkāryārtham, saṃyogāntā api kittvam bhāṣāyām prayojayanti, na chandasi, na kittve, ṅittve vā chandasi kaścidviśeṣo'sti, bhāṣāyām tu kittvamarthavadbhavati kaścidviśeṣo'sti, bhāṣāyām tu kittvamarthavadbhavati (nipapurāṇa iti), bhāṣāyām kānajbhavatītyasmādeva jñāpakādavasīyate* - Nyāsa 3-2-106.

19. *Na cātropasargastantram iti, upasargo'tra na pradhānamityarthaḥ, tantratvam tasya bahulam chandasi ityataḥ bahulagrahaṇānuvṛtterlabhyate*- Nyāsa 3-2-109.

20. *ekādiṣṭasya īy ityetadrūpam nipātyate*
- Patañjali ibid.

21. *īyādeśe dīrghoccāraṇam copetyasyāvivakṣāyām bījam draṣṭavyam bhāṣye iyiti hrasvapāṭhe īyivānityādau chāndaso varṇavyatyayo bodhyaḥ, loke tu upeyivānityeva sādhuḥ, upetyavivakṣāyām mānābhāvādityanye*- Nāgeśa ibid.

22. *anūcānaḥ kartarīti vaktavyam, anūktavān anūcānaḥ, anūktamityevānyatra* - Patañjali ibid.

23. *anūcānaḥ kartari*
- Kātyāyana 3-2-109.

24. *bāhulakam prakṛtestanudṛṣṭeḥ, kāryasaśeṣavidheśca taduktam, naigamarūḍhibhavam hi susādhu* - Kātyāyana 3-3-1.

25. *sarvābhyaḥ prakṛtibhyaḥ sarvapratyayānām tattadrūpeṇa vidhānam tu brahmaṇāpi durupapādamiti bhāvaḥ*
- Nāgeśa ibid.

26. *nāma ca dhātujamāha nirukte, vyākaraṇe śakaṭasya ca tokam,*

yanna viśeṣapadārthasamuttham pratyayaḥ prakṛteśca tadūhyam - Kātyāyana ibid.

27. *saṃjñāsu dhāturūpāṇi pratyayāśca tataḥ pare kāryādvidyādanūbandham etacchāstramuṇādiṣu*
- Patañjali ibid.

28. *atha vā yadayam ṛteriyaṅiti dhātoḥ īyaṅam śāsti tajjñāpayatyācāryo na dhātupratyayānāmāyannādayo bhavantīti prātipadikavijñānācca bhagavataḥ pāṇinerācāryasya siddham* -Patañjali 7-1-2.

29. *atha cetsamvijñānam nitye ṣatve tato vibhāṣeyam - Kātyāyana 8-3-45.*

athāvyutpannam prātipadikam tato nitye ṣatve prāpte tato vibhāṣeyam - Patañjali ibid.

30. *pare tvatha cetsamvijñānamiti pāṇineḥ pakṣaḥ, sarpiṣetyādau bahulagrahaṇāt kvacidanyadevetyarthakātṣatvam siddham, dhvanitam ca āyaneyīti sūtre prātipadikavijñānācca bhagavatassidhamiti vadatāsya pāṇinipakṣatvamityalam - Nāgeśa ibid.*

31. *tatra kamigrahaṇenaiva siddhatvāt kamsagrahaṇamanarthakam? na, jñāpanārthatvāt, etadanena jñāpyate - astidamapi darśanam- uṇādayo'vyutpannāni prātipadikāni - iti - Nyāsa 8-3-46.*

32. *pakṣadvaye'pi doṣaparihārārthamevoktam, bhāṣye - uṇādayo bahulam ityasya uṇādyantāḥ śabdāḥ pratyayaprakṛtivibhāgena vyākaraṇāntare sādhitāḥ tatra sakalakāryasiddhyartham bahulagrahaṇam, macchāstre ca avyutpannānāmapi teṣām sakalakāryasiddhyartham bahulagrahaṇam kartavyamityartha ityāhuḥ - Nāgeśa 8-3-59.*

33. *gaurityeva svarūpādvā gośabdo goṣu vartate vyutpādyate na vā sarvam kaiściccobhayatheṣyate - Hari, Vākya, Vākya 175.*

34. *bhāve sarvaliṅgo nirdeśaḥ kartavyaḥ - bhūtau, bhavane, bhāve iti, pumliṅgenāyam nirdeśaḥ kriyate, ekavacanāntena ca, tena pumliṅge eva bhāve ekavacane caite pratyayāḥ syuḥ. strīnapumsakayoḥ dvivacanabahuvacanayośca na syuḥ, nātra nirdeśaḥ tantram, nāntarīyakatvādatra pumliṅgena nirdeśaḥ kriyate, ekavacanena ca - Patañjali 3-3-18.*

35. *sāmānye bhāva ityatra yalliṅgamupalabhyate bhedānāmanumeyatvānna tatteṣu vivakṣyate - Hari, Vākya, Kriyā 59.*

bhavatau yatpacādīnām tāvadatropadiśyate na ca liṅgam pacādīnām bhavatau samavasthitam - ibid 61.

ekaśca so'rthaḥ sattākhyaḥ kathañcit kaiśc培ducyate liṅgānicāsya bhidyante pacirūpādibhedavat - ibid 62.

36. *nirdeśe caritārthatvāt liṅgam bhāve vivakṣitam upamānavidhatvācca bhāvādanyaḥ pacādiṣu - Hari, Vākya, Kriyā 60.*

37. *kimca pacaterbhavatirbhavati? sāmānyam, kinca bhavateḥ pacatirbhavati? viśeṣaḥ, tadyathā - upādhyāyasya śiṣyaḥ mātulasya bhāgineyam gatvāha - upādhyāyam bhavānabhivādayatāmiti, sa gatvā mātulam abhivādayate, tathā mātūlasya bhāgineyaḥ upādhyāyasya śiṣyam, gatvāha-mātulam bhavānabhivādayatām iti, sa gatvā upādhyāyam abhivādayate, evamihāpi pacaterbhavatau yattannirdiśyate - Patañjali 3-3-18.*

38. *ācāryo mātulaśceti yathaiko vyapadiśyate sambandhibhedādarthātmā sa vidhiḥ paktibhāvayoḥ - Hari, Vākya, Kriyā 63.*

39. *bhāva eva hi dhātvartha ityavicchinna āgamaḥ - Hari, Vākya, Kriyā 23.*

40. *kṛdabhihito bhāvo dravyavadbhavati, dravyam kriyayā samavāyam gacchati, kriyā kriyayā samavāyam na gacchati, tiṅabhihitena kālapuruṣopagrahā vyajyante, kṛdabhihitena punarna vyajyante, tiṅabhihito bhāvaḥ kartrā samprayujyate, kṛdabhihitaḥ punarna samprayujyate, ayamapi viśeṣaḥ liṅgakṛtaḥ samkhyākṛtaḥ - Patañjali 3-1-67.*

41. *sādhyatvena kriyā tatra dhāturūpanibandhanā sattvabhāgastu yastasyāḥ sa ghañādinibandhanaḥ - Hari, Vākya, Kriyā 47.*

42. *lakṛtyaktakhalarthānām tathāvyayakṛtāmapi rūḍhiniṣṭhāgha ñādīnām dhātuḥ sādhyasya vācakaḥ - ibid 52.*

TADDHITAVṚTTIḤ

1. *priyataddhitā dākṣiṇātyāḥ*
   - Patañjali, Paspaśā, Mahābhāṣyam

2. *keṣām śabdānām? vaidikānām laukikānām ca*
   - Paspaśā

3. *samarthavacanamanarthakam, nahyasamarthenābhidhānam*
   - Kātyāyana 4-1-82.

   prathamavacanamanarthakam,nahyaprathamenā-rthābhidhānam - ibid

   vāvacane coktam - ibid

   prayuktānāmidamanvākhyānam pravṛttam
   - Kaiyaṭa 4-1-82.

   tulyanyāyāt samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ ityapi pratyākhyātamiti bodhyam - Nāgeśa 4-1-82.

   abhidhānalakṣaṇāśca kṛttaddhitasamāsāḥ
   - Kaiyaṭa 4-1-78.

4. *taddhitārthanirdeśe liṅgavacanamapramāṇam, tasyāvivakṣitatvāt - Kātyāyana 4-1-12.*

   nāntarīyakatvādatra pumliṅgena nirdeśaḥ kriyate, ekavanāntena ca, ... na hyatra nirdeśaḥ tantram
   - Patañjali 4-1-12.

5. *sarvatraiva hi śāstre'sminnāntarīyakatvāt upāttam liṅgasamkhyam na vivakṣyate, kvacitsamkhyā tu vivakṣyate, yathā supsupeti - Kaiyaṭa 4-1-12.*

6. *apatyam pautraprabhṛti gotram, jīvati tu vāmśye yuvā*
   - 4-1-162 & 163.

7. *bhrātari ca jyāyasi, vānyasmin sapiṇḍe sthaviratare jīvati*
   - 4-1-164, 165.

8. *eko gotre, gotrādyūnyastriyām - 4-1-93, 94.*

9. *yā cedānīm prāgabhisambandhāt pumsā saha samprayogam gacchati tasyām kanyāśabdo vartata eva, kanyāyāḥ kanyoktāyāḥ kanyābhimatāyāḥ sudarśanāyāḥ yadapatyam sa kānīna iti*
   - Patañjali 4-1-116.

10. *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyādañ, salveyagāndhāribhyām ca, dvyañmagadhakaliṅgasūramasādaṇ, vṛddhetkosalājādāññyaṅ, kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ, sālvāvayavapratyagrathakalakūṭā śmakādiñ, te tadrājāḥ - 4-1-166 to 172.*

11. *tadrājasya bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām - 2-4-62.*

12. *kimarthamimāvubhāvarthau nirdiśyete, na yo'dhīte vettyapyasau, yastu vetti adhīte'pyasau, naitayorāvaśyakaḥ samāveśaḥ, bhavati hi kaścitsampāṭham paṭhati no ca vetti, kaścicca vetti, na ca sampāṭham paṭhati - Patañjali 4-2-59.*

13. *tadasminnastīti deśe tannāmni, tena nirvṛttam, tasya nivāsaḥ, adūrabhavaśca - 4-2-67 to 70.*

14. *janapade lup - 4-2-81.*

15. *lupi yuktavadvyaktivacane - 1-2-51.*

16. *kim yasya chatradhāraṇam śīlam sa chātraḥ, kim cātaḥ, rājapuruṣe prāpnoti, evam tarhi uttarapadalopo'tra draṣṭavyaḥ - chatramiva chatram, guruśchatram, guruṇā śiṣyaśchatravat chādyaḥ, śiṣyeṇa guruśchatramiva paripālyaḥ*
    - Patañjali 4-4-62.

17. *evam tarhi itikaraṇaḥ kriyate, tataścedvivakṣā bhavati, vivakṣā ca dvayī, astyeva prāyoktrī vivakṣā, asti laukikī, prāyoktrī vivakṣā - prayoktā hi mṛdvyā snigdhayā ślakṣṇayā jihvayā mṛdūn, snigdhān, ślakṣṇān śabdān prayuṅte; laukikī vivakṣā - yatra prāyasya sampratyayaḥ, prāya iti loko vyapadiśyate, na ca prāsādo devadattasya syāt prākāro nagarasya syādityatrotpadyamānena pratyayena prāyasya sampratyayaḥ syāt - Patañjali 5-1-16.*

18. *tadarhamiti nārabdham sūtram vyākaraṇāntare sambhavatyupamātrāpi bhedasya parikalpanāt* - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 561.

19. *yuktamaupayikam rājña ityarthasya nidarśane upamānāvivakṣāyām tadarhamiti paṭhyate* - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 577.

20. *sambandhibhedātsattaiva bhidyamānā gavādiṣu jātirityucyate tasyām sarve śabdā vyavasthitāḥ*

tām prātipadikārtham ca dhātvartham ca pracakṣate sā nityā sā mahānātmā tāmāhuḥ tvatalādayaḥ - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 33, 34.

21 *upamānādvā siddhametat, gavām sthānam - goṣṭham, yathā gavām tadvadustrāṇām, tailaśabdaśca pratyayo vaktavya iti, prakṛtyantaram tailaśabdo vikāre vartate, evam ca kṛtvā tilatailamityapi siddham bhavati* - Patañjali 5-2-29.

rūḍhiśabdaścāyam snehadravyavṛttiḥ, ... yathā prakṛṣṭo viṇāyām praviṇa iti vyutpattimātram kriyate, kauśalam tvasya pravṛttinimittam, tena viṇāyām praviṇa ityapi bhavati - Kaiyaṭa 5-2-29.

22. *evam tarhi uttarapadalopo'tra draṣṭavyaḥ, ayaśśūlamiva ayaśśūlam, yo mṛdunopāyena anveṣṭavyānarthān rabhasenānvicchati sa ucyate āyaśśūlikaḥ* - Patañjali 5-2-76.

23. *samjñāyām iti kimartham? tribhiḥ sākṣād draṣṭavyam bhavati- yaśca dadāti, yasmai ca dīyate, yaścopadraṣṭā, tatra sarvatra pratyayaḥ prāpnoti, samjñāgrahaṇasāmarthyād dhanikāntevāsinoḥ na bhavati* - Patañjali 5-2-91.

24. *kṣetriyaḥ śrotriyavat, parakṣetrādvā tatra cikitsya iti paralopo ghacca* - Kātyāyana 5-2-92.

25. *athāstigrahaṇam kimartham? sattāyāmarthe pratyayo yathā syāt, naitadasti prayojanam, na sattām padārtho vyabhicarati, idam tarhi prayojanam - sampratisattāyām yathā syāt, bhūtabhaviṣyatsattāyām mā bhūt, gāvo'syāsan, gāvo'sya bhavitāraḥ* - Patañjali 5-2-94.

26. *etām sattām padārtho hi na kaścidativartate, sā ca sampratisattāyāḥ pṛthak bhāṣye nidarśitā* - Hari, Vākya, Sambandha 51.

27. *atha matvarthīyānmatvarthīyena bhavitavyam, na bhavitavyam, kim kāraṇam? arthagatyarthaḥ śabdaprayogaḥ, artham sampratyāyayiṣyāmīti sabdaḥ prayujyate, tatra ekena uktatvāttasyārthasya dvitīyasya prayogeṇa na bhavitavyam, kim kāraṇam uktārthānāmaprayoga iti, bhavati hi - daṇḍimatī śālā, hastimatyupatyaketi -*

śaiṣikānmatubarthīyacchaiṣiko matubarthikaḥ sarūpaḥ pratyayo neṣṭaḥ sannantanna saniṣyate - Patañjali 5-2-94.

28. *matupprabhṛtayaḥ sanmātre iti cedatiprasaṅgaḥ,*

bhūmanindāpraśamsāsu nityayoge tiśāyane sambandhe'stivivakṣāyām bhavanti matubādayaḥ

29. *uktam vā, sanmātre carṣidarśanāt, gunavacanebhyo matupo luk, tathā ca liṅgavacanasiddhiḥ* - Kātyāyana 5-2-94.

30. *kimuktam? anabhidhānāditi, itikaraṇaḥ khalvapi kriyate tataścedvivakṣā, bhūmādiyuktasyaiva ca vivakṣā* - Patañjali 5-2-94.

31. *śītoṣṇatruprebhyaḥ tanna sahate (hṛdayāccāluranyatarasyām), himācceluḥ, balāccelaḥ, vātātsamūhe ca* - Kātyāyana 5-2-122.

32. *kutsita iti vaktavyam, yo hi samyag bahu bhāṣate vāggmītyeva sa bhavati, tattarhi vaktavyam, na vaktavyam, nānāyogakaraṇasāmarthyānna bhaviṣyati* - Patañjali 5-2-125.

33. *adhuneti kim nipātyate? idamo'śbhāvo dhunā ca pratyaya idamo vā lopaḥ, adhunā ca pratyayaḥ, asmin kāle adhun - Patañjali 5-3-17.*

34. *atiśāyane ityucyate - kimidamatiśāyane iti? yāvadbrūyād prakarṣe, atiśaye iti tāvadatiśāyane iti, kasya punaḥ prakarṣ pratyaya utpadyate, na vai dravyasya prakarṣa iṣyate, naiṣa jāteḥ prakarṣaḥ, evam tarhi guṇo'bhidhīyate - Patañjali 5-3-55.*

35. *evam ca śāstre guṇavacanaśabdena jātisamjñāvyayakṛdant taddhitāntasamastasarvanāmasamkhyāśabdātirikta śabdo gṛhyate iti bodhyam - Nāgeśa 1-4-1.*

36. *samsargi bhedakam yadyat savyāpāram pratīya guṇatvam paratantratvāt tasya śāstre udāhṛtam - Hari, Vāky Guṇa 1.*

37. *dravyasyāvyapadeśyasya ya upādīyate guṇaḥ bhedako vyapadeśāya tatprakarṣo'bhidhīyate*

sarvasyaiva pradhānasya na vinā bhedahetunā prakarṣo vidyate, nāpi śabdasyopaiti vācyatām - Hari, Vākya, Guṇa 2 & 3.

38. *guṇaḥ prakarṣaheturyaḥ svātantryeṇopadiśyate tasyāśritaguṇādeva prakṛṣṭatvam pratīyate - Hari, Vākya, Brahma 64.*

(see my Eng.Translation Sadguru Publi, New Delhi, 1992)

39. *ke punarnityapratyayāḥ? tamādayaḥ prākkanaḥ, ñyādayaḥ prāgvunaḥ, āmādayaḥ prāṅmayaṭaḥ, bṛhatījātyantāḥ, samāsāntāśceti - Patañjali 5-4-7.*

40. *tadantācca svārthe chandasi darśanam śreṣṭhatamāyeti - Kātyāyana 5-3-55.*

41. *svārthamabhidhāya śabdo nirapekṣo dravyamāha samavetam samavetasya ca vacane liṅgam vacanam vibhaktim ca abhidhāya tān viśeṣān apekṣamāṇaśca kṛtsnamātmānam priyakutsanādiṣu punaḥ pravartate'sau vibhaktyantaḥ - Patañjali 5-3-74.*

42. *kimādīnām dvibahvarthe pratyayavidhānādupādhyā narthakyam - Kātyāyana 5-3-92.*

dvayorityanarthakam, bahūnāmapi nirdhāraṇe ḍataraca iṣṭatvāt, ajātipariprāśne'pi katamaśabdadarśanāt vā bahūnām ityatra jātipariprāśnagrahaṇam na kartavyam - Kaiyaṭa ibid.

43. *vārtike dvibahvarthe iti upalakṣaṇam iti tātparyam - Nāgeśa ibid.*

ḍataraḍatamayoḥ samasampradhāraṇāyām strīnigadabhāve dve bhavataḥ - Kātyāyana 8-1-12.

sarva ime āḍhyāḥ katamā katamaiṣāmāḍhyatameti - Patañjali 8-1-12.

44. *tadityanena kim pratinirdiśyate? chaḥ, kathampunaḥ samāsonāma chaviṣayaḥ syāt? evam tarhi ivārthaḥ, yadi tarhi samāso'pīvārthe, pratyayo'pi, samāsenoktatvāt pratyayo na prāpnoti, evam tarhi dvāvivārthau katham? kākāgamanamiva tālapatanamiva kākatālam, kākatālamiva kākatālīyam - Patañjali 5-3-106.*

45. *chāpekṣā tadviṣayatā vidheyatvānna gamyate kākatālīyamityatra prasiddham hyupalakṣaṇam - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 606.*

pradhānasyāpi chasya parāmarśasyāyuktatvād guṇabhūtasyaivevārthasya parāmarśaḥ, che ca vidhīyamāne'smādeva jñāpakādivārthe samāsaḥ, supsupeti vā - Kaiyaṭa 5-3-106.

chapratyayaviṣaya eva jñāpakasiddhaḥ samāsaḥ, sanniyogaśiṣṭavat, supsupā ityayam ca abhidhānasvābhāvyādityarthaḥ - Nāgeśa ibid.

46. *dvayorivārthayorarthanimittatvam pratīyate ekenāvayavo yuktaḥ pratyayo'nyena yujyate caitrasya tatrāgamanam kākasyāgamanam yathā dasyorabhinipātastu tālasya patanam yathā* - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 608 & 609.

47. *sannipāte tayoryānyā kriyā tatropajāyate vadhādirupameye'rthe tayā chavidhiriṣyate* - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 610.

48. *kriyāyām samavetāyām dravyaśabdo'vatiṣṭhate pātāgamanayoḥ kākatālaśabdau tathā sthitau* - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 611.

49. *yadanvākhyāyakam vākyam tadevam parikalpyate prayogavākyam yalloke tadevam na prayujyate* - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 612.

50. *yayoratarkitā prāptiḥ dṛśyate kākatālavat tayoḥ samāsaprakṛteḥ vṛttirabhyupagamyate kākasya tālena yathā vadho yasya tu dasyunā tatra citrīkṛte'nyasminnupameye cha iṣyate* - Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 613 & 614.

51 *vigrahābhāvāt, vigrahapūrvikā taddhitotpattiḥ, asti kāraṇam yenātra vigraho na bhavati, nityapratyayo'yam, vigrahapūrvikā samāsapravṛttiḥ, bhavati vai kaścidasvapadavigraho'pi bahuvrīhiḥ* - Patañjali 5-4-7.

52. *kimatra kartavyam? paratvāt kap, antarangam hrasvatvam, antarangataraḥ kap, na cāyam kap samasānta ityucyate, tādarthyāttācchabdyam bhaviṣyati, yeṣām padānām samāsaḥ na tāvat teṣāmanyadbhavati kapam tāvat pratīkṣate* (see Udyota) - Patañjali 1-2-48.

ayamantaśabdo'styevāvayavavācī - Patañjali 8-4-20.

53. *samāsāntavidhāyakānām ca tattatsamāsārthavigraha-vākyāntāvayavaḥ śaradādiprātipadikātparaḥ pratyayaḥ ityartha iti bhāvaḥ, evam ca kapā samakālam tatpūrvabhāgasya samāsasamjñā* - Nāgeśa 1-2-48.

54. *yadyatra ṣac syāt tadā citvānnityamantodāttatvam syāt, dvitribhyām iti tu vibhāṣāntodāttatvam yadā samāsāntavidhera-nityatvāt dvimūrdheti samāsāntābhāvastadā sāvakāśam, ṣe tu sati samāsāntapakṣepi pakṣe' ntodāttatvam, pakṣe pūrvapada-prakṛtisvareṇādyudāttatvam iti rūpadvayasiddhiḥ* - Kaiyaṭa 5-4-115.

55. *anityatvāditi, atra cedameva ṣavidhānam jñāpakamiti bhāvaḥ* - Nāgeśa 5-4-115.

SANĀDYANTADHĀTUVṚTTIḤ

1. *kāmam tarhyanenaiva hetunā kyajapi kartavyaḥ - mahāntam putramicchatīti karmaṇo yatsubantamavayava iti, na kartavyaḥ asāmarthyānna bhaviṣyati, kathamasāmarthyam? sāpekṣamasamartham bhavatīti* - Patañjali 3-1-7.

2. *vā vacanānarthakyam ca tatra nityatvāt sanaḥ* - Kātyāyana 3-1-7.

3. *vāvacanam cānarthakam, kim kāraṇam? tatra nityatvāt sanaḥ, iha dvau pakṣau, vṛttipakṣaścāvṛttipakṣaśca, svabhāvataścaitadbhavati vākyam ca pratyayaśca, tatra svābhāvike vṛttiviṣaye nitye pratyaye prāpte vāvacanena kimanyacchakyamabhisambandhumanyadataḥ samjñāyāḥ? na ca samjñāyāḥ bhāvābhāvāviṣyete, tasmānnārtho vāvacanena* - Patañjali 3-1-7.

4. *vṛttistarhi kasmānna bhavati - mahāntam putramicchatīti? agamakatvāt, iha samānārthena vākyena bhavitavyam pratyayāntena ca, yaścehārtho vākyena gamyate - mahāntam*

putramicchatīti nāsau jātucitpratyayāntena gamyate - mahāntam putrīyatīti, yatra ca gamakam bhavati, tatra vṛttiḥ, tadyathā-muṇḍayati māṇavakamiti - Patañjali 3-1-8.

5. *ne hīha sanaḥ kaścanārtho nirdiśyate, na ca anirdiṣṭārthāḥ pratyayāḥ svārthe bhaviṣyanti iti svārthe eva san bhaviṣyatīti yuktam parikalpayitum, gopanādeḥ svārthasya sannantādapratīteḥ, astyeva sano'rthaḥ, kaḥ punarasau? nindādiḥ, yadāha - nindākṣamāvyādhipratīkāreṣu saniṣyate iti, kutaḥ punaretadavasitam - sano'rthā nindādaya iti? anvayavyatirekābhyām, sani hi sati jugupsate ityādau te'rthāḥ pratīyante, tasmādarthavāneva san - Nyāsa 3-1-5.*

6. *parakṣetre cikitsya iti vyādhipratīkārādāveva vyavahārāt, jugupsādernindādāveva vyavahārāt, gup-gopane, kita-niketane iti prayogācca, vicikitsā tu saṁśayaḥ iti kośabalācca arthaviśeṣopahitebhyaḥ eva saniti bodhyam - Nāgeśa 3-1-5.*

7. *kyajādiṣu pratyayārthanirdeśaḥ - Kātyāyana 3-1-19.*

8. *kyajādiṣu pratyayārthanirdeśaḥ kartavyaḥ - namasaḥ pūjāyām, varivasaḥ saparyāyām, citraṅa āścarye, bhāṇḍātsamācayane, cīvarādarjane paridhāne ca, pucchādudasane vyasane paryasane ceti, kim prayojanam? kriyāvacanatā yathā syāt ..., kriyāvacanatā ca gamyate, kaḥ khalvapi pacādīnām kriyāvacanatve yatnam karoti yenaiva khalvapi hetunā pacādayaḥ kriyāvacanāḥ tenaiva kyajādayo'pi, evamartham khalvapi ācāryaḥ citrayati kvacidarthānādiśati kvacinneti, evamapyarthādeśanam kartavyam, kathamime abudhā bodhyeranniti, athavā śakyamevārthādeśanamakartum, katham? karaṇe iti vartate, karaṇam ca karotyarthaḥ, karotiśca kriyāsāmānye vartate - Patañjali 3-1-19.*

9. *kṛtrimasya pāribhāṣikasya prayojakasyeha hetorgrahaṇam, tadīyo vyāpāraḥ preṣaṇādhyeṣaṇatatsamarthācaraṇalakṣaṇo hetumāniha gṛhyate - Kaiyaṭa 3-1-26.*

utkṛṣṭena nikṛṣṭasya preraṇam ādyam, viparītam dvitīyam, prayojyavyāpārānukūlamācaraṇam tṛtīyam - yathā bhikṣā vāsayatīti - Nāgeśa ibid.

preṣaṇādhyeṣaṇe kurvaṁstatsamarthāni cācaran kartaiva vihitam śāstre hetusaṁjñām prapadyate - Hari, Sādhana 125.

10. *yuktam punaridam vicārayitum, nanvanenāsaṁdigdhena pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇena bhavitavyam, yāvatā vyaktamarthāntaram gamyate pacati pācayatīti ca, bāḍham yuktam, iha paceḥ kaḥ pradhānārthaḥ? yāsau taṇḍulānām viklittiḥ, athedānīm tadabhisandhipūrvakam preṣaṇamadhyeṣaṇam vā, yuktam yatsarvam pacyarthaḥ syāt - Patañjali 3-1-26.*

anantaram phalam yasyāḥ kalpate tām kriyām viduḥ pradhānabhūtām tādarthyād anyāsām tu taḍākhyatā - Hari, Vākya, Kriyā 15.

11. *hetunirdeśaśca nimittamātre, bhikṣādiṣu darśanāt - Kātyāyana 3-1-26.*

hetunirdeśaśca nimittamātre draṣṭavyaḥ, yāvad brūyādnimittam kāraṇam tāvad heturiti, kim prayojanam? bhikṣādiṣu darśanāt, bhikṣādiṣu hi ṇijdṛśyate - bhikṣā vāsayati, kārīṣo'gniradhyāpayatīti, kim punaḥ kāraṇam pāribhāṣike hetau na siddhyati? evam manyate cetanāvata etadbhavati - preṣaṇamadhyeṣaṇam ceti, bhikṣāścācetanāḥ, naiṣa doṣaḥ, nāvaśyam sa eva vāsam prayojayati ya ihoṣyatām iti bravīti, kim tarhi? tūṣṇīmapyāsīnaḥ yastatsamarthāṇyācarati so'pi vāsam prayojayati bhikṣāścāpi pracurā vyañjanavatyaḥ labhyamānā vāsam prayojayanti, tathā kārīṣo'gniḥ nirvāte ekānte suprajvalito'dhyayanam prayojayati. - Patañjali ibid.

12. *citrīkaraṇe prāpi (vārtikam) - ujjayinyāḥ prasthitaḥ māhiṣmatyām sūryodgamanam sambhāvayate*

sūryamudgamayatīti, iha tu katham vartamānakālatā kamsam ghātayati, balim bandhayatīti, cirahate ca kamse cirabaddhe ca balau, atrāpi yuktā, katham? ye tāvadete śaubhikā nāma ete pratyakṣam kamsam ghātayanti pratyakṣam ca balim bandhayantīti. - Patañjali 3-1-26.

śabdopahitarūpāmśca buddherviṣayatām gatān
pratyakṣamiva kamsādīn sādhanatvena manyate
- Hari, Sādhana 5.

13. *svatantraprayojakatvādaprayojaka iti cenmuktasamśayena tulyam, pravṛttirhyubhayatrānapekṣya, kurvataḥ prayojaka iti cettulyam - Kātyāyana 3-1-26.*

yam bhavān svatantraprayojakam muktasamśayam nyāyyam manyate pācayatyodanam devadatto yajñadatteneti tenaitattulyam, katham? pravṛttirhyubhayatra anapekṣyaiva kimcid bhavati devadatte cāditye ca, neha kaścitparo' nugrahītavya iti pravartate, sarva ime svabhūtyartham pravartante, ye yāvadete guruśuśrūṣavo nāma te'pi svabhūtyartham pravartante - pāralaukikam ca no bhaviṣyati, iha ca naḥ prīto gururadhyāpayiṣyatīti, tathā ya ete dāsāḥ karmakarā nāma te'pi svabhūtyartham pravartante- bhaktam tailam ca lapsyāmahe, paribhāṣāśca na no bhaviṣyantīti, tathā ya ete śilpino nāma ete'pi svabhūtyartham pravartante - vetanam ca lapsyāmahe, mitrāṇi ca no bhaviṣyantīti, evameteṣu sarveṣu svabhūtyartham pravartamāneṣu yadi kaścit prayojako nāma kurvato bhavati tenaitattulyam - Patañjali 3-1-26.

nimittebhyaḥ pravartante sarva eva svabhūtaye
abhiprāyānurodho'pi svārthasyaiva prasiddhaye
- Hari, Vākya, Sādhana 124.

14. *uttarayorvigraheṇa viśeṣāsampratyayāt nityagrahaṇānarthakyam - Kātyāyana 3-1-23.*

uttarayoryogayoḥ vigraheṇa viśeṣasyāsampratyayāt nityagrahaṇam anarthakam, na hi kuṭilam krāmatīti camkramyate iti gamyate - Patañjali ibid.

krīḍāyām jīvikāyām ca vākyenāvacanāttathā
na nityagrahaṇam yuktam kauṭilye yaṅvidhau yathā
- Hari, Vākya, Vṛtti 40.

15. *loḍantasyaivedam dvirvacanam na yaṅantasya, lotaḥ samuccaye'pi vidhānāt samadhivyāhāravyaktau kevalasya sāmarthyābhāvāt, yaṅ tu kriyāsamabhihāraviṣaya eveti taddyotane svayam sāmarthyāt nāpekṣate dvirvacanam - Kaiyaṭa 8-1-12.*

16. *kriyā ca dviprakārā - pradhānā apradhānā ca, tatra pradhānakriyā vikledanādiḥ, guṇakriyā cādhiśrayaṇādiḥ, tatra yaḥ phalāntam pākam avasāyya kriyāntaram anārabhya punaḥ pākamevārabhate sa pradhānakriyām samabhiharati, tāsām paunaḥpunyam samabhihāraḥ, yastvadhiśrayaṇādīreva kriyāḥ kriyāntarairavyapetāḥ sākalyena karoti sa guṇakriyāḥ samabhiharati, tāsām bhṛśārthatā samabhihāraḥ - Nyāsa 3-1-22.*

ubhayam kaṇḍvādīni dhātavaśca prātipadikāni ca, ātaścobhayam, kaṇḍūyatīti hi kriyām kurvāṇo prayujyate, asti me kaṇḍūriti vedanāmātrasya sānnidhye, apara āha -dhātuprakaraṇāddhātuḥ kasya cāsamjanādapi āhacāyamimam dīrgham manye dhāturvibhāṣitaḥ - Patañjali 3-1-27.

17. *na ca chasunāviti vācye tarabīyasunāvityuktiḥ prātipadikapratyayānāmapyādeśābhāvam jñāpayet, āyanādīnām nirviṣayatvāpatteḥ, phaghachānām dhātupratyayeṣvabhāvāt, cphañādīnām cittvasya ṇyakṣatriyetyādinirdeśānāmcāsamgatyāpatteścetyāhuḥ - Nāgeśa 7-1-2.*

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The specific capacity possessed by Śabda in expressing the artha is called sāmarthya. It is of two types - Vyapekṣā and Ekārthībhāva. The mutual expectancy (ākāṅkṣā) among words is characteristic of a sentence and the same coupled with yogyatā (compatibility) and āsatti (proximity) is called Vyapekṣā. Words having separate meaning unite to render a unitery meaning and the process is called Ekārthībhāva and it is the characteristic of Vṛtti. There are a number of properties that are both common and specific to Vākya and Vṛtti. Pāṇini wanted to cover the gamut of things related to both the above concepts and samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ (2-1-1) is the terse Sūtra that has come out of his mouth.

The use of Vākya and Vṛtti is natural, rather the analysis is artificial - speakers use Vākya and Vṛtti which express the same meaning. In some cases there will be Vākya only and in other cases there will be Vṛtti only. The optionality of Vṛtti is artificial, i.e. both are independent candidates useful in expression of meaning and neither can be replaced by the other. Rather it is a device invented by Vaiyākaraṇas to explain the structure of words in a brief and perfect way. The analysis is variable from grammarian to grammarian whereas the form of a Śabda is constant. The organization of Vyākaraṇa is elaborately discussed by Hari in Vākyakāṇḍa of Vākyapadīya.

Pāṇini wanted to teach vākyapūrvikām vṛttim (Vṛtti preceded by Vākya) and in it he has shown the meaning in a broken word which is akin to a broken sentence, i.e. only an akhaṇḍavākya and akhaṇḍapada is acceptable to Pāṇini, but it is for abudhas (non-scholars). A group called dvandva, like the word gargāḥ, expresses a number of things due to the greatness of Śabda. The exhibition of meaning to varṇas is exclusively for the sake of Śāstra (by Kātyāyana) and bare dhātus do not have worldly-meaning whatsoever. The meanings of kṛts and taddhitas is alaukika (non-worldly / śāstric). The kṛdantas and taddhitāntas, before the vibhakti is added, do not have any meaning. It is also apparent that meanings of pratyayas in a Vyākaraṇa are described as the meanings of prakṛtis in another Vyākaraṇa. In Śāstra, the pratyaya expresses the meaning of prakṛti when the latter disappears and in some cases the dhātus themselves denote the meaning of the pratyaya also when the latter gets lopa. Iyān (taddhita) is an example for the first type whereas ahan and dadhi are for the second type. Pāṇini had Jahatsvārthā, i.e. the words involved in Vṛtti give up their meaning and the combined unit as a whole denotes a single meaning, in mind and this fact can be justified by the Bahuvrīhi, wherein the Sūtrakāra ruled that two or more (many) words unite in order to render the meaning of an outside word - anekamanyapadārthe (2-2-24) - compare with parārthābhidhānam vṛttiḥ - the pre-Pāṇiniyan definition. This is common to all Vṛttis. So far as the production of Śabdas is concerned there

are different analyses by different Vaiyākaraṇas. Among various deviations that are available to define, one is picked up as the cause / base. The word gauḥ is produced from different dhātus by Vaiyākaraṇas - gṝ ñigaraṇe (to swallow), garja śabde (to roar), gamḷ ḡgatau (to go), guṅ avyakte śabde (to make unclear sound), gada yaktāyām vāci (to pronounce clearly) etc. And it may be noted that the meanings assigned to dhātus (by Bhīmaṣena) are not static (dhātūnām anekārthatvāt). Some Vaiyākaraṇas hold that one need not go for an exploded view of any word as by form (svarūpa) itself gauḥ etc. words denote their meaning (i.e. Aukthikya, a pre-Pāṇinian grammarian as an answer to his own question stated that since it is gośabda it is expressing the meaning - śabdasvarūpa iteself is the pravṛttinimitta), whereas some accepted the quite opposite view that all words are produced while yet others accepted both. The argument for productivity is called Vyutpattivāda and the argument for non-productivity is styled Avyutpattivāda. Pāṇini supports the latter inspite of his prescriptions and descriptions in Aṣṭādhyāyī. The prakriyā (analysis) in Śāstra is a device meant for trainees, they are false statements. Rather, one would get the real thing (candidate of expression, Pada or Vākya) thru unreal means.

This is the easiest way that is useful in improving one's vocabulary and enhancing the knowledge of structure of Sanskrit words. The job is finished by Pāṇini in a way that is unsurpassed in terms of skill, brevity and perfection [either by his predecessors or successors].

pratipādayatā vṛttimabudhām vākyapūrvikām
vṛttau padārthabhedena prādhānyamupadarśitam
- Hari, Vākya, Vākya 226.

gargā ityeka evāyam bahuṣvartheṣu vartate
dvandvasamjño'pi samghāto bahūnāmabhidhāyakaḥ - ibid 221.

śāstrārtha eva varṇānām arthavattve pradarśitaḥ
dhātvādīnam viśuddhānām laukiko'rtho na vidyate - ibid 210.

kṛttaddhitānāmarthaśca kevalānāmalaukikah
prāgvibhaktestadantasya tathaivārtho na vidyate - ibid 211.

anvākhyānasmṛtau ye ca pratyayārthā nibandhanam
nirdiṣṭāste prakṛtyarthāḥ smṛtyantara udāhṛtāḥ - ibid 231.

śāstre kvacitprakṛtyarthaḥ pratyayenābhidhiyate
prakṛtau vinivṛttāyām pratyayārthaśca dhātubhiḥ -ibid 229.

jahatsvārthavikalpe ca sarvārthatyāgamicchatā
bahuvrīhipadārthasya tyāgaḥ sarvasya darśitaḥ - ibid 228.

anvākhyānāni bhidyante śabdavyutpattikarmasu
bahūnām sambhave'rthānām nimittam kiñcidiṣyate - ibid 170.

kaiścinnirvacanam bhinnam giratergarjatergameḥ
gavatergadatervāpi gaurityatrānudarśitam - ibid 174.

gaurityeva svarūpādvā gośabdo goṣu vartate
vyutpādyate na vā sarvam kaiściccobhayatheṣyate - ibid 175.

upāyāḥ sikṣyamānānām balānāmupalālanāḥ
asatye vartmani sthitvā tatassatyam samihate - ibid 238.

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